Daily Report

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Bosnia-Hercegovina

The governments of the Serb Repubic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Republic of Serbian Krajina in Croatia "have signed a protocol on bilateral cooperation in the spheres of politics, economy, and public life," TANJUG reports. The protocol "also envisages that the relevant government ministries should analyze all the existing constitutional and legislative provisions and draw up proposals, to be submitted to the republics' assembly, for ways to harmonize them."

Bulgaria

National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov announced his resignation during an assembly session on 24 September, Sofia radio reports. In his speech, Savov stated: "You have no right to accuse me of caring for my comfortable office and chair. I will try to clear out of this office within two days and leave the chair to my successor." Snezhana Botusharova, of the Union of Democratic Forces, was appointed acting chairman.

Czechoslovakia

The Federal Assembly voted on a CSFR president after a "very complicated" debate on the agenda. According to Prague radio, Jiri Vcelar Kotas, chairman of the conservative party Free Bloc Federal Council, was nominated by Ales Mucha of the Liberal Social Union. Kotas, the only candidate, received 40 out of a possible 300 votes. After losing the first ballot, Deputy Ales Mucha withdrew Kotas' nomination.

Yugoslavia

Federal—Prime Minister Milan Panic spoke to a group of Yugoslav journalists about his visit to the United States, commenting that "all those he met...offered to support his peace plan and the democratization of relations" in the FRY, TANJUG reports. Panic also announced that former U.S. President Jimmy Carter "will travel to Yugoslavia to monitor forthcoming elections." Asked to assess the results of his visit, Panic said: "We have achieved more than we expected."

Savov Accuses Zhelev of Forming 'Personal Regime'

AU2409110792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Interview with Stefan Savov, National Assembly chairman, by unidentified radio reporter in Sofia on 24 September—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Mr. Stefan Savov, National Assembly chairman, gave an interview today on the "Before Everyone Else" Program of Khorizont Radio Network. [passage omitted] Asked to comment on the reprimands directed against himself as an individual and against the Democratic Party he heads, Mr. Savov replied with a rather drastic statement that I would like to let you hear in its original recording, precisely because of its drastic nature.

[Begin recording] I take the liberty to state that President Zhelyu Zhelev is behind many of these machinations. I have said on several occasions that President Zhelev is unfortunately availing himself of certain imaginary prerogatives that the Constitution adopted by his friends has denied him. In doing so, he is now trying to establish a personal regime to consolidate his power. As far as the president's office as an institution is concerned, no such institution exists in our country. There is a president and a vice president. Things such as defense cabinets, and so forth, should not exist. How can the intelligence service be subject to the president? How can the security service be subject to the president? What kind of president is that?

As long as I have the strength I shall defend the positions of parliamentarism. I will never consent to a personal regime, never to a totalitarian or dictatorial regime. [end recording]

National Assembly Chairman Resigns

AU2409145592 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Excerpts] The National Assembly session opened with a continuation of the procedural debates from yesterday's plenary session.

At the beginning of the session, Stefan Savov read a letter from the ERA-3 Union that was addressed to him. The letter stated that what was happening in the National Assembly was unworthy, that the debates were becoming concerned with settling personal scores, and that ERA-3 does not agree that Savov should resign.

Deputy Ventseslav Dimitrov then submitted another proposal. He proposed a debate on the draft law for amendment of the 1992 state budget, which is connected with beginning payments on certain foreign debts. Georgi Pirinski, although agreeing with the proposal, said that the debate should take place in the presence of Finance Minister Ivan Kostov, who is now abroad. Even Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov said a few words on the proposal, pointing out that a debate on the proposal might seriously hamper the negotiations that our finance minister is now conducting in the United States.

The debates then returned to procedural matters. Yunal Lyutfi insisted again that the item calling for the resignation of the National Assembly chairman should again be included as the first item on the agenda, while the second item should be a vote on stripping National Assembly Deputy Dimitur Velev Dimitrov of his parliamentary immunity, as requested by the chief prosecutor of the republic.

Savov said it was necessary to explain that the second item proposed by Lyutfi had to be first on the agenda, and that there could be no debate on this. Mrs. Rasheeva of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] said that the resignation of the National Assembly chairman had to be delivered to the president.

At this point, Savov said: I will submit my resignation as National Assembly chairman, so that the application by the chief prosecutor to withdraw parliamentary immunity from Dimitur Velev can be the first item on the agenda. [passage omitted]

The National Assembly session is now in recess, and we are waiting for it to resume.

Resignation Speech

AU2409155392 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1255 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Speech by National Assembly chairman Stefan Savov to the National Assembly on 24 September—live]

[Text] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, National Assembly deputies, we would be incorrigible idealists and simpletons if we were to think that communism is likely to step down from the political stage by itself. Yes, communism is inevitably going and is bound to (?disappear into the past), but in leaving the political stage, the by-products of the Communist Party are constantly trying to conduct renewal exercises—taking advantage of the entire arsenal and indulging in all forms of social, political, and economic pretense.

It is precisely for this reason, and in order to be sure that there will be no relapses into totalitarian regimes and ideologies and that they will not become a state monopoly, that we must help them—namely the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] members—find their appropriate place in political life and in contemporary Bulgaria. This can happen only after not only and not so much individual personalities, but rather their entire party is put on trial. This is so because we are confronted with the confirmed collective guilt of a political organization that is responsible for one in a series of Bulgarian national disasters. [applause]

Ladies and gentlemen, you are not applauding me; rather you are applauding Ahmed Dogan, who began his political career in the 36th National Assembly with the words you just heard. [applause, cheers, noise in hall]

Would you please just listen to a few words that I have to say: On 22 July Mrs. Nora Ananieva [leader of the BSP parliamentary faction], the esteemed Mrs. Ananieva, who has recently become very nervous, said in proposing the no-confidence vote on behalf of the BSP-Communists, that Mr. Savov is applying a double standard in his attitude toward parliament members. He has one standard for National Assembly deputies of the parliamentary opposition and a different standard for the privileged members of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS]. What do you think of that, ladies and gentlemen? What do you think? Naturally, all things are changing, and you will understand that everything is in flux, as the ancient Greek saying goes.

When the National Assembly chairman's council met, Yunal Lyutfi, who is undoubtedly a clever man.... [pause] No, it was not in the council, but here in this hall because he is not a member of my council, and he said the following. [noise in hall] Look here, I realize that it is painful for you to hear such things, but you are obliged to hear me out because when a chairman is going he must be heard, as he is heard when he takes up his duties. I know that some of you do not have good manners and that there is no way you can learn them now, but let me say the following: Mr. Yunal Lyutfi addressed Mrs. Snezhana Botusharova, who was chairing the session, and said: Esteemed madame chairman, esteemed ladies and gentlemen National Assembly deputies, the vote on the early dismissal of Stefan Savov, National Assembly chairman, has closed. We heard the result, which is final. The National Assembly does not relieve Stefan Savov of his duties as National Assembly chairman. This is a fact that we should all accept. I would like to say a few words: We, the DPS parliamentary group, expected this result and we were convinced that Mr. Savov would not be relieved of his duties; however, politics does not care whether the difference in the vote is by one or more votes. Esteemed colleagues, under Mr. Savov's leadership, the National Assembly adopted over 50 bills that laid the legal basis for real changes in the political and economic system. This is quite an achievement and should not be underestimated. I would like to point out that we all participated in the adoption of these bills, especially the SDS and the DPS parliamentary groups, and I am convinced that the democrats among the BSP group also participated in this cause.

We, the DPS deputies agree with our vote, that Mr. Savov should continue to chair the National Assembly because we are convinced that under his leadership, parliament will continue to work in the same spirit—namely, for democracy in our country.

This is what Mr. Lyutfi said in the plenary session.

In the chairman's council, Mr. Lyutfi also addressed Mrs. Ananieva and said the following: In the long run, all of us in the National Assembly must contribute with our work and our behavior to the stability and prestige of the parliamentary leadership and the entire parliament.

I am not saying that the leadership [words indistinct]. This is stronger than a political speech, Mr. Lyutfi, and you understand this. I am convinced that there no reasons for complaints about the parliament chairman's work, we can only be satisfied with it. This is what you, Mr. Lyutfi, said only 14 days ago.

When Mrs. Ananieva said that her group had analyzed the laws and that the laws were not (?satisfactory), you said that we in the DPS also analyzed all those laws and that they represented a great step forward.

Mr. Ivan (?Kalchev) who is also present here, and I wonder how he can look me in the face, the same Mr. Ivan Kalchev said the following on 2 September: Esteemed Madame Chairman, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, I am taking the floor on behalf of the DPS parliamentary group in order to express the point of view of our group. Before I express our view, I would like to tell you what happened in our parliamentary group when the BSP parliamentary group submitted the no-confidence motion on Mr. Savov. The question was asked at our group's meeting: Is there anyone with arguments supporting the no-confidence vote? There was not even one vote. Our position was that each of us should vote for Mr. Savov to remain in his chair. The DPS has proved on many occasions that it strictly adheres to its pledges. Therefore, we have no problems of a moral or other nature. The proposal to elect Mr. Savov as chairman was made by the majority in parliament, and it is the problem of the minority as to how and when it proposes that Mr. Savov should be removed from the chair. Therefore, this problem does not exist for the DPS.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, all these are strange documents, and I wonder how the gentlemen from the DPS can look me in the eye tomorrow. You may say that naturally, some of the gentlemen on the other side could be my friends, but I cannot be friends with many of them for numerous reasons because they remind me of rather tragic events. As regards the DPS, however, I can frankly say that I have always been their friend and the DPS has always addressed me when in need, and I have always helped its members as much as I could, either through my own authority or even as a mediator between them and the government.

I say this because all Bulgaria is listening to me. As far as I am concerned, I still support the DPS. I have reservations concerning some of its leaders, and I wonder how these leaders will look me in the eyes tomorrow. We, the SDS, and the Democratic Party that you are attacking have always defended the rights of minorities. Turks have always participated in our parliamentary groups. If you take a proper look at the records you will see that not

one or two, but dozens of Turkish National Assembly deputies have participated on several occasions.

From my own life experience I can say that when I was in the concentration camp, it was the Turks who brought us bread and yogurt and if it was not for them, we would have starved as the Communists wanted us to. [applause]. I worked at building sites for 15 years. We have always worked with Turks. For 15 years, exactly, gentlemen, and Ms. Velislava Dureva [BSP deputy], I can assure you that I worked as as builder for 15 years and the majority of workers were usually of Turkish descent. I highly appreciate the moral standards of these peoeple, their way of working, their discipline, and a Turk has always been a symbol of honesty and decency for me.

I continue to consider the Turks as such people and I would oppose anyone trying to spread some kind of ethnic hostility. I only wonder about some of the DPS leaders. Do you not realize what you are doing? Do you not realize that you are sowing winds and storms, and if someone is standing above and trying to manipulate you, why do you trust him? Do you not realize what may happen, despite the fact that myself and all those on my side shall continue to speak and act against ethnic conflicts? When you were persecuted, we were on your side, and when you asked to be a party, we supported you. There is even more. It may be that our Constitution bans all parties based on ethnic principles, but our Constitution should be amended as soon as possible because the European Council Charter contains a clause about this, and I can see how your present allies will rave about it.

Some gentlemen and some not quite grown-up ladies in this parliament have accused me of lacking all sense of responsibility and honor. Why am I talking about not quite grown-up ladies, Mrs. Klara Marinova [BSP deputy] being quite grown up, but still, I mean the immature ones. Look here, I have passed through purgatories that I do not even like to mention in this hall; it would be ridiculous. Your fathers participated in those purgatories—at least, the majority of them did. Let me say this, because Mr. Lilov certainly knows what happened in Bulgaria. Did Mr. Lilov perhaps not know about concentration camps, did he ignore how Bulgaria was sold? I do not even want to talk about the others. Perhaps Mrs. Marinova did not know what happened when an individual was wearing a duffle coat, or perhaps you were too young, Mrs. Marinova? Perhaps you do not know what a duffle coat is. I am just saying the things that would hurt you. Do you remember how people walking in Rakovski Street were being arrested just because there was something American or Western about their clothes or their appearance? Such people were sent to the Lovech camp and their bodies were fed to the pigs.

Yes, there have been some dissidents, even among the Communists [he laughs], they are even supposed to have been beaten. Yes, this is right, this is wonderful. In that case, however, I would suggest that they move to the other side, where they belong. Nevertheless, the majority of you have been prosecutors, judges, or militia officers. You should not pretend to ignore what happened in Bulgaria. Do not pretend to have never heard of the horrors. There was a time for you to repent, to spread ashes over your heads, but this time is over. Then, you could have claimed to be transformed into a modern left-wing party.

Unfortunately, time is inexorably passing. Once more, I can only say one thing: No one who knows the facts can accuse me of being dishonorable. For 45 years I never applied for a passport for a foreign travel. I was a translator for 20 years, but I never spoke to a foreigner. I know what honor is. I know that people were beaten to death, and I know who did it. I know that Mr. Karakachanov Sr. has broken the bones of several people in that place near the Stanishev [famous Bulgarian surgeon killed by the Communist regime] home. I know many things. Therefore, you are not entitled to insult a person who has gone through purgatory, even through hell, someone like me, who has survived. You have no right to accuse me of caring for my comfortable office and chair. I will try to clear out of this office within two days and leave the chair to my successor.

What you did here, however, gentlemen, was a violation of the Code of Regulations. Let us not talk about what was done with the vote without awaiting the Constitutional Court's decision. This represents a new breach of the Constitution. You are aware of this, and you still persist in doing so.

I would like to address the DPS once more. Gentlemen, the Communists have always sought allies, but those who were stupid enough to join them have always been rejected like scum, and as chairman of the Democratic Party, I am very glad that the Democratic Party was the only one never to cooperate. The Agrarians had a sad experience and the same applies to the Radical Democrats, the Liberals, and others. They all went through a deplorable experience because they tried to compromise with the Communists. Communists will always be Communists, even when they claim to be Socialists. Thank you. [applause, noise]

Botusharova Elected Interim Assembly Chairman

AU2409214192 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] At its session today, parliament again spent considerable time in procedural disputes. After Stefan Savov resigned on his own initiative, the issue arose of who would carry out the functions of National Assembly chairman until a new chairman was elected.

Following long consultations between the parliamentary groups, a decision was adopted under which Mrs. Snezhana Botusharova would perform the functions of acting chairman.

DPS Withdraws 'Political Confidence' in Premier

AU2309121792 Sofia BTA in English 1152 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Evgeniya Drumeva report: "DPS Strips Prime Minister of its Political Confidence"]

[Text] Sofia, September 23 (BTA)—In a special declaration of its leadership the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) today stripped Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov of its political confidence. At a press conference the leaders of the movement said that for the time being they will not raise the issue of the resignation of the prime minister and his cabinet in parliament but will insist on the voting of their motion for the resignation of National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov which they officially submitted last Thursday, September 17.

The Movement for Rights and Freedoms regards it its patriotic duty to defend the fundamental principles in all democratic societies—political pluralism, division of the three powers and normal interrelations between parliament, the government and the Presidency. Therefore it is necessary to elect a new National Assembly chairman and a new prime minister with a new political and economic strategy, the declaration of the movement reads. It points out that the DPS "has never been and will never be on the positions of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]." However, Ahmed Dogan admitted that he and Socialist leader Zhan Videnov are to hold official talks.

At today's press conference the spokesman for the DPS, Yunal Lyutfi, repeatedly stated that the DPS hopes that the forthcoming talks with representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) will find the formula making it possible for the DPS and the SDS to work together again. According to him, the removal of Stefan Savov from the post of National Assembly chairman will step up dialogue. However, Mr. Lyutfi expressed the fear that the political declaration adopted at the conference of the SDS last week in which the ruling coalition expresses firm support for Stefan Savov and Filip Dimitrov, considerably narrows the perimeter of the future talks between the movement and the SDS because these are the problems to be discussed.

DPS leader Ahmed Dogan said that for the time being the DPS will not move in parliament a motion for voting no-confidence in the cabinet and will give the SDS time to prepare an alternative to the incumbent cabinet.

Asked whose side he takes in the conflict between President Zhelev and the SDS, Ahmed Dogan said that "this conflict is too tendentious at a time when this country has the exceptional chance to change in the presence of a blue (the colour of the SDS) president, blue government and blue parliamentary majority. Mr. Dogan stressed the role of his movement in parliament describing it as "regulative." With its 24 MP's [members of parliament] the movement plays a key role because neither the ruling coalition of the SDS (holding 110 seats in parliament) nor the opposition Socialist, ex-Communist, Party (106 seats) can pass decisions or bills on their own.

At a press conference he gave in late August President Zhelev criticized the economic and home policy of the cabinet and said that, according to him, the economic reform was too slow.

Vice President Denies Conflict With Zhelev

AU2309151492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1330 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] A little over an hour ago, Blaga Dimitrova, vice president of the republic, arrived at Sofia Airport after a visit to Ukraine. She visited Ukraine after accepting an official invitation to meet Bulgarians living in Ukraine and Moldova.

While in Ukraine, Mrs. Dimitrova sent her open letter dated and written on 17th September, but sent later. During the vice president's absence from the country, accusations were heard that she was abandoning the president at a crucial moment. Our reporter Liliya Stefanova received the following answer from Mrs. Dimitrova on this matter.

[Begin Dimitrova recording] I am a little surprised by you coming to meet me, and by your question. [she laughs] You see, we have a lot of work to do. [words indistinct] In my view, stability is what people really want. They have suffered such trials, they have suffered too much in their work and their jobs. I believe that stability is what we need. A stable government, stable work, a stable, united society, and calm, open dialogue would put us on the right path.

Thus, I have not declared any kind of confrontation against the president. We share the same profession. He has never asked me to come to his conferences, and he did not tell me what he thought about that news conference. I would like to have told him my thoughts, but he avoids conversations with me. I hope that we will understand each other, however. Indeed, our compatriots have an understanding with 27 different ethnic groups; they have an understanding with Ukrainians, Russians, Gagauz, Jews, and others. If we are unable to reach an understanding with each other, I am willing to make it easier for society and will submit my resignation, with the aim of preventing a division. I am the very last person to want to split this country. It was divided so much by the former rulers, and now it seems that we are dividing it. [end recording]

Agrarian Parties Give First Joint News Conference

AU2209163192 Sofia BTA in English 1535 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 22 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) (United) and the Nikola Petkov

BZNS do not want new parliamentary elections on the eve of their unification. The success of the reform will be much in their interest, Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser, leader of the Nikola Petkov BZNS, told a news conference today. She said she was pleased with the decision of the national conference of the Union of Democratic Forces to seek cooperation with the extraparliamentary democratic organizations. This was the first joint news conference of the two agrarian parties and this practice will continue until their unification.

Both agrarian parties will support the reform but they insist on greater flexibility and a change in the cabinet's policy, as well as on some cabinet changes, it became known today.

The future United Agrarian Party will have about 180-200,000 members. The two Standing Committees will work as a single leadership until the unification congress. The Nikola Petkov BZNS and the BZNS (United) will not enter any coalition until the unification. However, the leaders said, they will maintain contacts with all democratic forces in Bulgaria.

Aug Economic Figures Show Decline Continuing

AU2309145792 Sofia BTA in English
1426 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 23 (BTA)—Dramatic changes in the state of Bulgaria's economy are unlikely, the National Statistical Institute announced at a news conference here today. This conclusion is based on the August economic figures.

Production and proceeds from the sale of goods and services have declined both from the preceding month and from August 1991. Proceeds from the sale of goods and services were 1.2 per cent down from July, and production dropped 12 per cent (at current prices) or about 25 per cent from August 1991. Over 4,000 businesses (two-thirds of the total number) fell short of August 1991 sales.

One peculiarity in August was the comparative reduction of finished goods inventories. Their 400 million leva increase is the smallest since the beginning of the year, the press learnt at the news conference. Institute experts associate this with the fact that businesses would rather not produce goods with problematic marketing.

In industry production went down 9 per cent and sales 2.2 per cent from the preceding month. The steepest decline (32.5 per cent) was registered in food processing. The drop was some 20 per cent in the chemical industry and oil processing industry, almost 14 per cent in electrical engineering and electronics, and some 11 per cent in mechanical engineering.

Private trade keeps increasing its sales: The 3,000 million leva in August sales was 10 per cent up from July. Private distributive trade already takes up 46 per cent of the total turnover. On the whole, the turnover was lower than last year's, but the private sector registered an increase.

August inflation was 1.2 per cent, the lowest level since the beginning of the year. Since December 1991 inflation has reached 46.4 per cent. Seasonal factors are believed to have been instrumental for the low inflation in August and, specifically, the seasonal reduction of fruit and vegetable prices.

The average monthly wage in July was 2,083 leva and it kept tending up in non-state-financed sectors. At the same time, there were substantial wage differentials between the sexes. Men drew an average wage of 2,378 leva, as against a mere 1,792 leva for women. The worst paid branch is forestry, ahead of education, culture and health care.

Assembly Fails To Elect CSFR President

LD2409124892 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Stanislav Benda report from the Federal Assembly]

[Excerpt] After a very complicated debate about the agenda of the fourth joint session, which was approved only after 105 minutes, the fourth double round of election of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic president began. The only candidate, Jiri Vcelar Kotas, chairman of the Federal Council of the conservative party Free Bloc [Svobodny Blok], was nominated by Ales Mucha of the Liberal Social Union.

In the first ballot, where the candidate needs a three-fifth majority, Mr. Kotas won in the Chamber of the People only 16 votes out of 56 votes cast—there are 150 members of the Chamber. In the Chamber of the Nations, the candidate won in the Czech part 10 votes out of 25 votes cast, in the Slovak part 14 votes from 44 votes which were cast. Both parts of the Chamber of Nations have 75 members each.

After this failure in the first ballot when a president was not elected, Deputy Ales Mucha withdrew Kotas' nomination. The date for the fifth round of elections of CSFR president will be decided by the political caucus. I remind you that this should happen within eight weeks. [passage omitted]

Next Presidential Election Scheduled For 2 Oct

LD2409163792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] According to Filip Sedivy, first deputy speaker of the Federal Assembly, the participants in the meeting of the parliament's political caucus held today agreed that the sixth round of the CSFR presidential election will be held from 0900 on 2 October. Both Chambers of the Federal parliament must however approve this date. Filip Sedivy went on to say that the caucus appealed to the chairmen of the Clubs of Deputies to weigh up very well whether it would be appropriate to propose further candidates.

Unknown Gunmen Wound Kuwaiti Attache in Prague

LD2409111592 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 1021 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] London, 24 Sep (KUNA)—A Kuwaiti diplomat has said that a Kuwaiti diplomatic attache at the Kuwaiti Embassy in Prague was the target of an abortive assassination attempt there last night by unidentified individuals.

Mr. Nasir Bahbahani, the consul of the Kuwaiti Embassy in Prague, in a telephone call to London, told KUNA that Kuwaiti attache Mr. Salah Jasim al-Mubarak was shot twice during the assassination attempt, but he escaped death and is now fully conscious.

He pointed out that unidentified individuals opened fire on Mr. al-Mubarak with a silencer-equipped gun in Prague. He was hit twice, in the stomach and the shoulder. He stressed that the Kuwaiti diplomat was taken immediately to one of Prague's hospitals where doctors removed the two bullets. Mr. Bahbahani emphasized that the state of the Kuwaiti diplomat's health is reassuring, that he is fully conscious and talking with visitors.

The Kuwaiti consul said the Czechoslovak police are searching for the culprits and the motives behind the crime.

State Security Pistol Possibly Used

LD2409141992 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1330 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Salah Jasim al-Mubarak, an attache at the Kuwaiti Embassy, was shot outside his apartment at about 0200 this morning by unknown culprits who escaped from the scene of the crime, a reliable source has told CSTK. According to the source, the Kuwaiti attache was shot with a 7.65-caliber pistol made in Zbrojovka Brno. Propably, this is a special type of pistol that was used by members of the State Security First Administration engaged in intelligence activities. Doctors at the Thomayer hospital in Prague said the post-operative condition of the patient, who was shot in the stomach and shoulder, is consistent with his injuries.

Iraqi Envoy Discusses Embargo, Bilateral Relations

AU2309152592 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Sep 92 pp 1, 13

[Interview with Iraqi Ambassador Mundhir Ahmad al-Mutlaq by Boris Latta; place and date not given: "The Embargo Will Not Last Forever"]

[Text] Mundhir Ahmad al-Mutlaq, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Iraq to the CSFR, came to Bratislava yesterday for a one-day visit. After his meeting with Milan Knazko, Slovak minister of international relations, we asked him for an interview.

[Latta] Iraq is one of our traditional trading partners. The embargo caused great losses to our manufacturers. How do you assess, in this respect, our mutual relations in the future?

[Mutlaq] The statement at the beginning of your question corresponds to what CSFR Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik said at a meeting with ambassadors of Arab countries in Prague at the end of July. I learned two things, when Iraq was briefly mentioned there. First, Iraq is an important country and an important partner for Czechoslovakia. Second, the CSFR has been damaged by the embargo and any further escalation of

problems in the Middle East means additional damage to Czechoslovak trade interests.

Later, the United States came up with the idea of the no-fly zone south of the 32nd parallel. Who causes escalation, then? Is it Iraq? It is the Americans who are damaging our, as well as your interests, by what they are doing. Unfortunately, less than a month later, a communique issued by the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry sounded, essentially, like support for the American measures.

[Latta] You are in Slovakia again. What was the goal of your visit and what are the results?

[Mutlaq] Our talks with Milan Knazko were sincere, and I believe that they were very interesting for both sides. My foremost task was to make Slovak representatives familiar with the situation in Iraq. We would like our Slovak partners to have a clear idea about what is going on in our country now. The obvious violation of international law by Washington, London, and Paris was also on the agenda. We also spoke about opportunities for our possible economic cooperation.

Today, our economic contacts are virtually frozen. The reason is well-known. We are speaking about a blockade that we consider absolutely unjust. Not only are the Iraqi people paying for that, but Slovaks and Czechs as well. That is, whoever cannot conduct business with us. Despite this, we are considering crude oil deliveries to the CSFR as soon as conditions allow. We are also contemplating your imports to our country. The embargo is not going to last forever, and we must be prepared for the time after the embargo is lifted. We have something to build on. Some 75 percent of our refineries were built with the help of your experts. We preferred your enterprises to others with international reputations. The sooner that you compete for our market, the better. That is to say, there are many competitors. The competition is strong.... You know well about what happened to the orders for the reconstruction of Kuwait. They were "swallowed," mostly by American firms. And you? If I am right, then they entrusted you with the reparation of the emir's palace.

[Latta] The no-flight zone in the Iraqi airspace south of the 32nd parallel can be explained as the protection of Shiites against attacks by the Iraqi army....

[Mutlaq] If the protection of Shiites is really what is involved here, then why does it begin at the 32nd parallel? A short distance away to the north, there are holy cities such as Nedjef and Kerbala. I am convinced—and many facts confirm it—that the United States, France, and Great Britain are playing, after the "Kurdish" card, their "Shiite" card, while pursuing their own goals. The allies are constantly saying that they are concerned with "protection against a possible attack by the Iraqi Army." In South Lebanon, Shiites are suffering, and no one is holding his "protective hand" over them. And the army's alleged attacks against the southern tribes? There are none. The American CNN staff, as well as other reporters from international news agencies, could verify it recently during their visit to the area. They were surprised when they found no trace of the tragedy that has been alleged by the propagandists for such a long time. I am not going to say anything new, but I know that Washington is only concerned with control over Iraqi crude oil supplies.

Let us look at the suffering of children in Somalia. If the money spent on fuel for the allies' aircraft crisscrossing the south of Iraq were used to purchase food, thousands of them would not have died a terrible death....

[Mutlaq] At the recent talks held by the Arab League foreign ministers, the league adopted in its final document a position on the development of the situation in Iraq. Could you describe it in more detail?

[Latta] In their final document, apart from condemning the occupation of three Arab islands by Iran, they adopted a stance on the Palestinian question, supported Iraq, and condemned interference in its internal affairs. The fact that the Egyptian minister met his Iraqi counterpart was an important event. This is a definite change in the attitude of the Arab countries. This is why we consider these documents to be very important.

Mortavcik Requests Support When CSFR Divides

LD2409200892 Prague CSTK in English 0612 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] New York Sept. 24 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik in New York last night asked his counterparts from Germany, Sweden, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain for support for diplomatic recognition and admission to the U.N. of the two republics into which Czechoslovakia will split next year.

At the moment, the situation is very optimistic because all those with whom I met seem to be willing to cooperate, Moravcik told CSTK. They had only one condition: That the split be peaceful, he added.

Moravcik said that the European Community foreign ministers confirmed to him that if the Czech and Slovak Republics, to be created as of January 1, 1992, establish a customs union, they will be inclined to negotiate association accords with the new states on the basis of the original agreements.

Czechoslovakia signed association accords with the EC on December 16, 1991.

Moravcik, who arrived in the United States September 20 for talks with U.S. officials and to attend the 47th U.N. General Assembly, confirmed to CSTK that his deputy, Martin Palous had resigned.

Asked, whether rumours about Palous' resignation are truthful, First Deputy Foreign Minister Jaroslav Suchanek told CSTK on Monday that he has no information about it.

Moravcik said: I fully undertand his (Palous's) stand that he has been linked with the federation and that it is very difficult for him to explain the new policy.

Moravcik said he had tried to persuade Palous to change his stand. But in view of the fact that he has already submitted his request for dismissal in written, I think this will not help, Moravcik added.

Klaus Says Czechs Do Not Need New German Treaty

LD2409223592 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 2000 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus responded to the initiative of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and said that the Czech Republic does not need to conclude a new treaty with Germany. After his meeting with Bavarian Prime Minister Max Streibl, he emphasized that their talks confirmed the existence of the treaty. How should this treaty be apportioned to the two succesor states of Czechoslovakia will be merely a technical matter. Vaclav Klaus said at the same time that both the Czech and Slovak Republic ought to carry out a policy accommodating the other side.

Czech Foreign Minister on Regional, EC Cooperation

LD2509095192 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2030 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Interview with Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Minister, today the Czech Government approved your concept of Czech foreign policy. In the past, you have emphasized the strong attraction of Czechoslovak membership in the EC, to a certain extent at the expense of regional forms of cooperation such as the Visegrad agreement. We know that our entry into the EC will not be so easy. Have you changed your view?

[Zieleniec] No. I do not think that our integration into western Europe, into the EC, is detrimental to regional cooperation. These should be two different issues. That is, actually, what we have criticized in the past—it has seemed that the Visegrad Troika was trying to become an alternative to the European Communities. I believe that this will no longer be the case.

[Reporter] These days we hear how complicated the fate of the Maastricht Treaty is. In this context, views are being expressed in our country that it might be more favorable for Czechoslovakia if the treaty fails, if the process is not completed, implying that a weaker, divided Europe would accept Czechoslovakia more easily, that our integration would be simpler. What do you think?

[Zieleniec] I do no think so. We have an interest in the integration of Europe, in an integration of Europe in which we can find our place. For us, it is not only a question of economic or security advantages. We feel that we share the same values as western Europe, as western European countries, and we want to promote and defend these values. There is no other alternative for us. I think that Maastricht is being artificially inflated as a milestone. Like the Treaty of Rome 30 years ago, Maastricht is a certain instance in the history of western European integration, but as for the direction the development will take—well, the discussion in Europe will continue. It is a discussion similar to the one we are having here at home—whether we should have greater powers at the bottom, whether self-administration should have more powers than the central government, etc. The European debate is similar and it is a natural civic debate.

[Reporter] If it transpires that our integration into Europe is a more break-neck, complicated affair, do you think that the path toward integration into the world economy would be more passable via the United States where a whole number of Czechoslovak politicians are having talks these days?

[Zieleniec] I do not think that that is an alternative to our incorporation into Europe. As I have already said, Europe is important for us not only for practical reasons, but for reasons of our national identity and the awareness of the thousand years of belonging to Europe.

Nevertheless, the U.S. position—one of openness of trade—is what gives an example to Europe and exerts pressure on it. We have said many times that we do not want aid, we want trade. We want free trade. Europe is sometimes inclined to solve its difficulties by restricting free trade. But the fact that these days we live not only in Europe, that the world is a whole and that many other states have a different view of the matter, improves our chances of achieving a free market and free trade one day.

[Reporter] In your view, what is the greatest difference between the concept of Czech foreign policy approved today and Czechoslovak foreign policy as it has been implemented so far.

[Zieleniec] In this concept, we have mainly stressed that the period in which we could conduct foreign policy on credit, as they say, has ended. Thanks to the outcome of our Velvet Revolution everyone accepted us and our entry into the world was easy. Now it is normal policy, the policy of interests which are not always shared by different subjects, by different states, and we must show that we are a country which is capable of creating a strong economy and democratic society, and of building our foreign policy on the basis of the results achieved at

home. We must cautiously work toward our main objective—the road to Europe, the road to the EC. That is what we must focus on.

[Reporter] As far as the neighboring countries are concerned, which issues do you want to start solving first?

[Zieleniec] Good relations with neighboring countries is the foundation of foreign policy success for a small country like ours. That is essential. We must establish regional cooperation, but not regional cooperation based on empty political declarations but concrete cooperation in specific projects.

Within the framework of the Visegrad Troika we have now proposed to Hungary and Poland to condense the time needed for the creation of a free trade zone from eight to four years. Free trade is something that benefits everybody. Here the interest is shared. The proposal has met with understanding. I believe that this is the actual road to goodneighborly regional cooperation and that is what we will promote.

Czech Assembly Amends Privatization Law

AU2409175392 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Sep 92 pp 1, 2

["st"-signed report: "On Changes to the Law on Power-Sharing; The Czech National Council Will Reside in 13 Houses and Palaces"]

[Excerpts] In spite of a negative stand by Vaclav Klaus' cabinet, the Czech National Council yesterday adopted a law under which it will reside in 13 houses and palaces of the Lesser Quarter [area of Prague]. By the end of parliament's current term, these houses and palaces are to be turned into a complex representing Czech and Moravian statehood. Only 20 deputies voted against the bill. [passage omitted]

This decision means a definitive end to the effort by some U.S. companies to convert some palaces in the vicinity of Malostranske Namesti [in the heart of the old city of Prague] into luxury hotels. According to Czech National Council Deputy Chairman Pavel Tollner (Christian Democratic Party), Prague 1, which currently owns five of the buildings, will be compensated for the return of these premises, which are linked with the history of Czech parliamentarianism. The total cost of reconstruction, including money already invested, is estimated at 660 million korunas.

At its meeting yesterday, the Czech National Council also approved an amendment to the law on state administration in waste management, aimed at preventing extensive theft of nonferrous metal. [passage omitted] Under the amendment, all businesses involved in the waste collection and procurement will be obliged to verify the identities of their suppliers for nonferrous metal scrap.

The Czech parliament yesterday established the State Agricultural Market Regulation Fund [Statni fond trzni regulace v zemedelstvi], with headquarters in Prague. The Fund will regulate the market in selected agricultural commodities and food products in the Czech Republic by means of intervention purchases for minimal (guaranteed) prices or by providing export subsidies. Czech Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture Josef Lux said that the aim of the Fund is not to solve the income situation in farming but to help establish a market environment.

The most controversial item on the agenda was the government-sponsored draft of the so-called Czech law on power-sharing, which introduces extensive changes to the structure of central bodies of state administration. The bill provides, above all, for the abolition of the Ministry of Trade and Tourism and for the distribution of its powers among the newly established economic ministries—the Czech Republic Ministry of Economy, Transport, and Communications and the Czech Republic Ministry of Industry and Trade. The bill also provides for the establishment of a new Czech Republic Ministry for Economic Competition based in Brno. This should be an entity that promotes economic competition and protects it against unauthorized curtailment. The submitted changes also affect the Agriculture, Environment, Health Care, and Interior Ministries.

Some deputies described the proposal to set up the Office for Legislation and Public Administration as unnecessary. It was also suggested to not transfer vocational training of apprentices from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Economy, Transport, and Communications. The intention to transfer territorial planning from the environment department to the jurisdiction of the Economy Ministry also met with criticism. As the Left Bloc holds that the bill anticipates the CSFR breakup and supported the suspension of the debate on it, the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party Club of Deputies demands that the government submit within a month proposals for the establishment of a separate Czech Republic defense ministry and a Czech Republic transport ministry.

In view of the substantial comment and proposals for changes, the discussion of the law on power-sharing was suspended until today. The council did approve an amendment to the law on transferring state property to other persons. The amendment fundamentally changes conditions for privatizing health care facilities. Under the amendment, some 10 billion korunas will be held in the Czech Republic National Property Fund for seven years, with interest from this account used to lower interest on credits extended to physicians and health care employees. This should help lower interest rates on these credits from [the commercial rate of] 14 percent to 7 percent.

Details Emerge on Transfer of Croat Helicopters

LD2409202192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0948 GMT 23 Sep 92

[By Branko Stosic]

[Text] Prague, September 23 (TANJUG)—The affair involving military helicopters which were intended for Croatia and which arrived in Czechoslovakia through a German arrangement is starting to acquire more distinct outlines.

Although it has been over four months since the Soviet-made helicopters were brought in from Poland, not all circumstances involved in the attempted Russia-Poland-Czechoslovakia-Croatia transfer are clear.

According to the information of Czechoslovak Defense Ministry, the five Mi-8 military helicopters were "leased" by the Russian joint stock company Yakutavia I Berkut to the private Polish firm Sorbok. The private Czechoslovak firm Ikona, based in Frydlant, a small town in Czechoslovakia located where the Czechoslovak, Polish and German borders meet, "mediated in taking over the helicopters intended for Croatia."

It is said that the entire operation was carried out without the knowledge and participation of authorities. The helicopters crossed state borders without seeking or getting permission. The transaction was "conducted and financed" by the German firm Rothaichner.

The first of the five helicopters arrived from Poland four months ago and was parked at the airport outside Liberec, a town also located near the place where the three state borders meet, i.e. in the immediate vicinity of the firm Ikona in Frydlant. The other four helicopters arrived from Poland in June by a roundabout route [words indistinct]. They were also parked at the airport at Liberec.

Two of the five "non-combat" helicopters were in early September moved to Prague's Ruzyne Airport, from where an attempt was made to fly them, without the necessary import and export papers, to Croatia, allegedly the Croatian coastal town of Rijeka.

The firm Ikona tried to wash its hands and return the helicopters to the "initial owner," the Moscow Berkut, although it was obvious from the documents that Ikona bought the helicopters from the Polish Sorbok. The German firm still remains in the shadow.

Head of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry's department "for the export of military technology" Stefan Glegzo has said the law on trading with military materiel failed to function in the case of the Ikona firm.

What is actually involved is an outright conflict of political and business interests—laws are not precise and can fail to function because the export and transfer of arms and military equipment is very lucrative.

Number of CSKOS Members Drops by Almost 500,000

AU2409123992 Prague CSTK in English 1514 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sep 22 (CSTK)— The Presidium of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions (CSKOS) considers the division of the Czechoslovak Federation inevitable, CSKOS President Richard Falbr said today.

Addressing a session of the CSKOS General Council in Velke Mezirici, South Moravia, Falbr said a referendum on this issue would now be belated and questionable. (In a recent public opinion poll, 80 percent of trade unionists in Czechoslovakia spoke in favor of a referendum to decide the future arrangement of Czechoslovakia).

Falbr said talks on possible changing or abolishing the CSKOS should be postponed until the two sovereign state entities (Czech and Slovak), both subjects of international law, come into existence.

He said the existence of the CSKOS will be beneficial to people even if federal bodies which are its social partners in the federal tripartite council cease to exist.

The federal tripartite council was set up in October 1990 by the Federal Government, trade unions, and employers to provide their close cooperation in economic and social problems with the aim to preserve social peace in the country.

According to the CSKOS president, another reason why the CSKOS should be maintained lies with its membership in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (MKSO) and the European Trade Union Confederation (EOK). Falbr said he believes that also in the event of Czechoslovakia's split, the CSKOS could act as a partner for those state bodies which will supervise and direct the process of its division.

CSKOS Vice-President Vaclav Vanek, who represents the CSKOS at tripartite talks, said the Presidiums of the Czech and Slovak tripartite councils will hold session by October 15, to discuss transferring some obligations from the federal tripartite council to the republics.

By June 30 the CSKOS associated 62 trade unions with 5,777,704 members. According to a report presented at today's session, the number of CSKOS members dropped by 483,236 against September 30, 1991.

Polish Premier Discusses Regional Cooperation

LD2409162292 Warsaw PAP in English 1407 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, Sept. 24—Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka had a meeting in Budapest Thursday [24 September] with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz to discuss questions connected with the cooperation of the Visegrad group of countries comprising Poland, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia.

The Hungarian president supported the stand of the prime ministers of Poland and Hungary presented Wednesday that the Visegrad group should remain a political club rather than seek institutionalisation. According to Goncz no differences of opinions on the issue have emerged during his meeting with Ms. Suchocka.

Goncz also stressed the significance of the decision to create a free trade zone for the Visegrad group countries allowing to avoid intermediaries in bilateral trade.

On Thursday, Premier Hanna Suchocka also paid a visit to Hungary's Primate Cardinal Laszlo Paskai who informed the Polish guest about religious revival taking place in Hungary after the abolition of the communist system.

Goncz Urges Free Trade

LD2409162792 Budapest MTI in English 1309 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 24 (MTI)—"To counter the sharp decline in the exchange of Hungarian-Polish goods, it is urgent that free trade between the two countries be established. We only hurt ourselves if we dismantle previous good relations," President Arpad Goncz said during talks with Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka in Budapest's parliament on Thursday [24 September].

At the meeting great attention was given to regional groupings in East-Central Europe. About the Visegrad cooperation scheme of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, Goncz said that it can draw on centuries of natural connections.

In Hungary's view, the group can operate mainly as a political coordination framework in line with the founders, intention to proceed together on the road to Europe, avoiding competition.

Suchocka pointed out the Polish interest in the work of both the Visegrad scheme and the Central European Initiative.

She agreed with Goncz that rivalry should be avoided, and called for common action to open the door to Europe.

Suchocka conveyed to Goncz greetings from President Lech Walesa.

Goncz confirmed Walesa's invitation to Hungary, and hoped the visit would take place soon.

Flemish Prime Minister Visits Foreign Ministry

LD2409231492 Budapest MTI in English 1751 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 23 (MTI)—Flemish Prime Minister Luc van den Brande, currently on an official visit to Hungary, on Wednesday [23 September] held talks with the parliamentary secretary of state of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, Andras Kelemen.

The sides exchanged views about the South Slav crisis, and the possibilities of expanding the European Communities, and, within this, of Hungary becoming a full member.

It was stated that intensifying regional cooperation is a mutual interest, and boosting relations between the Visegrad group and the countries of the Benelux union provides a favourable background for this for both sides.

Figures Show Over 600,000 Unemployed in Aug

LD2409220992 Budapest MTI in English 1347 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 23 (MTI)—Hungary's National Labour Centre had on record 600,574 unemployed in late August, an increase in the month of 11.1 per cent.

The number of people out of work increased by 13,500 compared with July, but this was a smaller increase than previously.

The unemployment rate is 5.1 per cent for Budapest, 20 per cent for Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg County in eastern Hungary and 7.5 per cent for the western Gyor-Moson-Sopron County.

Suchocka Returns From Budapest; Agreements Signed

LD2409202892 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka has returned to Warsaw from Budapest. [passage omitted] After landing at Warsaw Prime Minister Suchocka said at the airport:

[Begin recording] Two agreements were signed during the visit. One on abolishing double taxation and the second on protection of investment. Also an agreement on the free-trade zone has been prepared for signing, and I think that this is a very important step forward, the more so that we unanimously agreed that this agreement should be implemented as soon as possible. [end recording]

Visit Called 'Very Important'

LD2409203492 Warsaw PAP in English 1830 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 24—Upon her return from Budapest Thursday [24 September] evening Premier Hanna Suchocka described her visit to Hungary as very important.

Suchocka stated that discussions concerned the most important problems of East-Central Europe, the internal relations of the "Visegrad" states, and questions concerning the functioning of East-Central European initiatives.

Suchocka assured that the "Visegrad" group will continue to exist, and that internal divisions are not important. The premier also underscored the great significance of agreements signed in Budapest concerned with the avoidance of double taxation, the protection of mutual investments and opening a free trade zone.

Polish, Hungarian Cooperation Urged

LD2409210192 Warsaw PAP in English 1828 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, Sept. 24—Poland and Hungary should try to define concrete terms of their membership in the European Communities and intend to work jointly on adjusting their laws to the EC standards, Minister for European Integration Jan Krzysztof Bielecki said after his talks Thursday [24 September] with Hungarian Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Bela Kadar.

Bielecki who was accompanying Premier Hanna Suchocka during her official visit to Budapest, also declared that the two sides "have reached a high level of cooperation and agreement."

"We are concordant as to the common strategic goal defined by the Visegrad declaration which is cooperation between our countries and efforts leading to European integration," he said.

According to Bielecki the talks focused on bilateral relations between Poland and Hungary in light of the dialogue with the European Communities, and relations with EFTA (European Free Trade Association) states which are to join EC sooner than Poland and Hungary.

Referring to the decision to set up a free trade zone of the Visegrad group countries in 1993 Bielecki said it is planned that the agreement to the effect will be signed in Krakow in November not only by Poland and Hungary but also by Czecho-Slovakia. After the latter's planned split, the document will be initialled by the Governments of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, he explained.

Minister Bielecki added that full liberalization of trade envisaged under the proposed agreement can be expected in 4-6 years.

Opening to Foreign Capital Encouraged

LD2409174692 Warsaw PAP in English 1949 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 23—Poland must be open to foreign capital, Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski told representatives of local enterprises and banks in Poznan (western Poland) on Wednesday [23 Wednesday].

"A country which has to make a technical, organisational and technological leap cannot afford capital autarky in a situation where it has no domestic capital," he said.

Commenting on the controversy over the future progress of European unity, Deputy Prime Minister Goryszewski, a leading Polish Euro-sceptic, said that "any discussion of economic association or disassociation is immaterial. The Sejm settled this matter unequivocally, and there is no possibility, in a law-abiding state, to reverse the process at the moment."

Goryszewski noted that after three years of decline in Poland's GNP [gross national product], next year will be a period of growth, and will provide Poland with the chance to begin steady economic growth.

The deputy prime minister supported the idea of low-interest credits for investments linked to exports, and announced that the government, in association with the Polish Central Bank, would seek to make widely available funds for working capital and investment linked to export. He added that it might be possible to offer tax concessions for exporters.

Goryszewski stressed that the Suchocka government would defend the stability of the Polish currency, and thus create the possibility of growth in all areas of the Polish economy.

Later on Wednesday, Goryszewski stressed, at a meeting in Warsaw with representatives of Polish associations concerned with health matters, that the government was keenly monitoring all information on infringements of the rights of the handicapped in Poland.

The representatives at the meeting called on the deputy prime minister to allocate all funds approved to support their organisations. They also called for the speediest possible appointment of a plenipotentiary at the Polish Ministry of Labour for the disabled.

Finance Minister Defends Economic Reforms

LD2409232292 Warsaw PAP in English 2139 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Washington, Sept. 23—The shock therapy instituted three years ago by Poland's former Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz has passed the test, and Poland is now an excellent example of the theory that success in reorientating of an economy towards a free market can be achieved relatively quickly, said Polish Finance Minister Jerzy Osiatynski, during his address on Wednesday [23 September] to the annual summit in Washington of the IMF.

Osiatynski reminded his audience that negotiations between Poland and the IMF over the Polish budget deficit would resume in October, and also repeated his call for Poland's 1 billion dollar zloty stabilisation fund to be reallocated for other purposes.

Referring to the turmoil of recent weeks in the world's currency markets, Osiatynski said that the upheavals had revealed the unease felt among European peoples towards European integration.

Osiatynski expressed the hope that reflection on the lessons of the currency upheavals would enable Western Europe to reach a better understanding of the political difficulties which had accompanied the transformations in Central and Eastern Europe.

Defense Minister Discusses Decommunisation in Army

LD2409161992 Warsaw PAP in English 1210 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 23—Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz declares in an interview in Wednesday's [23 September] "NOWY SWIAT" that he would have to give serious consideration in the event of a Sejm (lower house) decision to undertake a strict decommunisation programme in the Army. "I declare that I will not participate in the dismantling of the Polish Army," says Onyszkiewicz.

He adds that the Army needs a decommunisation of its structures but that he is against removing every senior ex-member of the Communist Party. All people connected with the "central party apparatus," Onyszkiewicz maintains, have already been removed.

Reminded that the most senior officers, who were trained in the Soviet Union, were obliged to cooperate with the GRU (Soviet military intelligence) Onyszkiewicz says he is convinced nevertheless of their loyalty, and adds that Western countries have not shown any lack of confidence in these people, which they had done in the past.

In the full page interview Onyszkiewicz denies that his appointment to the Defence Ministry (MON) after the Jan Olszewski Government had been voted out was a coup d'etat. He maintains he was appointed in the same way that Olszewski appointed Romuald Szeremietiew, former defence vice-minister.

He rejects the accusation of former Defence Minister Jan Parys that he wants to stick to Warsaw Pact military structures arguing that certain changes in the Army were even consulted with Western states.

Answering criticism from the interviewers that Poland's eastern frontier is not defended because army units are still deployed according to Warsaw Pact plans, Onyszkiewicz claims he has already stationed troops in the east.

On the Franco-German idea of a Eurocorps, Onyszkiewicz briefly states that he does not really understand how this is intended to function.

The U.S. military presence in Europe is very important for Poland, argues Onyszkiewicz, who hopes that the Canadian withdrawal of troops from Europe will not be a precedent for the United States. He does not think that developing Polish-U.S. relations require the signing of a separate agreement.

Consequently the NOWY SWIAT interviewers ask him why he thinks a pact is necessary with Russia. Onyszkiewicz replies that such a pact is as important as pacts with other states and that it is important not to isolate Russia in building a system of European security.

Onyszkiewicz thinks that there needs to be more spending on the Army because it is withering away.

Asked about the relationship of the president to the Armed Forces Onyszkiewicz declares in favour of the present state of affairs or that included in the proposals for a "Small Constitution".

Deputy Chairman Says PC Will Not Join Coalition

LD2409163492 Warsaw PAP in English 1934 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 23—"The Centre Alliance (PC) is not interested in joining the ruling coalition in its present shape," PC Deputy Chairman Ludwik Dorn said in an interview for the Polish Radio on Wednesday [23 September].

He added that in the present situation PC will build in the parliament "a coalition of prudence directed against the economic activities of the government which is of a left-wing character."

Negotiations Begin on EFTA Free Trade Agreement

AU2309125392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0942 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/9/1992—Negotiations officially started in Geneva on the convening of a free trade agreement between Romania and the EFTA countries.

During the plenary sessions a review was made of the draft agreement, and both sides commented on the agreement's articles as well as on the content of appendices and protocols, which are integral parts.

Consultations were held at an expert level on essential questions, like customs cooperation, origin rules, intellectual property, state assistance, competition, and trade with agricultural produce.

Noteworthy is the open and sincere atmosphere of cooperation, which allowed for a fast progress in clearing up the sides' viewpoints, shows a statement sent to the national news agency ROMPRES.

Foreign Minister Discusses Foreign Relations

AU2209165492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1142 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/9/1992—"Now, after more than two years have passed, one can notice a change to the better of Romania's image in the world, the beginning of a climate of normality, to which the Romanian diplomacy has brought a significant contribution," Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase stated in an interview for the daily CURIERUL NATIONAL. "Over the period I referred to, we have managed to fully normalize our relations with practically all the developed states—which has been a priority for the Romanian diplomacy. We have prepared a new juridical base, comprising the basic treaties, new documents that free inter-state relations from the ideological residues and form a distinct and important level of the new architecture of European security and cooperation. Romania was among the first states in Europe, which initiated negotiations and signed such treaties with France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, and is now in an advanced stage of negotiations for similar treaties with other states. We have given priority to the agreements that help the reform, such as the promotion of foreign investment by guaranteeing it, the avoidance of double taxation. We have expanded the spiritual facet of the political cooperation through a large number of accords and programmes of cultural exchanges."

"A strategic aim of Romania's external policy in the post-revolution period was Romania's connection to the political-strategic and economic Euro-Atlantic structures. Romania is now a member of the North-Atlantic Consultative Council, a NATO body. Romania is also a participant in the mechanisms of the Western European Union (WEU) and has the statute of guest in the Council of Europe, practically participating in all its actions. At present negotiations are under way for the completion of the association agreement to the Common Market. Agreements have also been concluded with the EFTA [European Free Trade Association].

"Parallel to these major actions, Romania has now fully entered the circuit of the main European and world events, with an active part in the great international conferences." The Romanian foreign minister stated: "With the disappearance of the USSR and the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, we have directed our efforts towards revealing and maintaining Romania as an oasis of stability between the two hotbeds of war, towards integrating Romania in the international efforts for the political settlement of the existing open conflicts. The Romanian diplomacy has fully involved itself in the efforts for the political solution of the conflict in the Eastern districts of the Republic of Moldova. The political mechanism of the four foreign ministers was an idea proposed by the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Romania will obviously be further interested in the pacification of that area and will act for a political settlement to become feasible. As a matter of fact, Romania's participation in the settlement of the Transdniestrian conflict must be seen as a part of this country's efforts to reassess its relations with the Republic of Moldova. To this effect we have militated abroad to accredit the idea of the existence of two Romanian states as a prerequisite for the achievement of the national strategic desideratum of Romania's reintegration in its natural frontiers. In our direct relations with the Republic of Moldova we have acted for the economic and cultural integration in the spirit of our common features, as a preamble to the country's reintegration."

"Our position in connection with the relations with Hungary has been guided by the principle of defending national interests and by the necessity of protecting the country's territorial integrity. The way we have achieved this was, on the one hand, a decent but firm dialogue with the Hungarian government and, at the same time, a vast action of persuasion and explanation of the real state of facts in our contacts with Western and other governments", Mr. Nastase stated.

Candidates Deliver Final Pre-Election Statements

AU2409200192

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1600 GMT on 24 September carries a 40-minute studio program titled "Concluding Statements of the Candidates for the Presidency of Romania." An unidentified announcer says that the candidates will speak in succession, with statements of a maximum length of six and one-half minutes. The first speaker is National Salvation Front (FSN) candidate Caius Traian Dragomir.

Dragomir begins by asking listeners to carefully consider their choice of candidate. He says the FSN is a modern

party that can guarantee democracy in every respect. He also stresses that if he is elected he will be a president for all Romanians.

Dragomir then emphasizes that there is no similarity whatsoever between the FSN and the Democratic National Salvation Front that has nominated Ion Iliescu.

Dragomir defends the economic reform course initiated by the FSN, saying that if difficulties have cropped up it is not due to the concept but rather because those who have implemented it have been incompetent.

Dragomir emphasizes that national security is a top priority issue and Romanians should consider it very carefully, as their votes will decide whether their homeland will live in stability or face destabilization.

The next speaker is Democratic National Salvation Front (FDSN) candidate and incumbent President Ion Iliescu, who begins by asking people to participate "massively" in the 27 September election.

Iliescu warns that some parties are following a right-wing line, and warns Romanians about other perils in case they make the wrong choice.

Iliescu then stresses the necessity of introducing discipline at all levels because anarchy, not just tyranny, is also a great enemy of democracy.

Iliescu says that Romania is badly in need of reform, but that should not result in reckless liberalization and "savage capitalism." He says he favors well-considered reform. He condemns those who still feel "nostalgic" about the communist era, as well as dilettantes and "economic adventurers." Iliescu says that many consider him to be the representative of laborers, which is a great honor to him, but says he also represents many intellectuals and he will continue to do so if he is re-elected.

Iliescu says that Romania has been working hard to prepare for unification with Moldova and that the rights of ethnic minorities are strictly observed in Romania.

He concludes by reminding the listeners that they trusted him during the 1990 presidential elections and that they may well do so again: "We have started off together, let us continue together."

The next speaker is National Unity Party of Romanians (PUNR) candidate Gheorghe Funar. He says his party adopted offensive tactics in the current electoral campaign and that he will make his statement in a similar way. PUNR "did not have its platform approved in Budapest" the way the Democratic Convention did, he remarks.

Funar then reaffirms the major goals of his party, such as returning to the 1989 level of industrial production within two years and the introduction of discipline, lawfulness, and order. Other goals are the development of housing, a drastic reduction of unemployment, especially of women, and granting "the necessary funds" for the Armed Forces and the police. Funar says that he would pay special attention to achieving a good balance among the various economic sectors.

As everyone knows by now, Funar says, the slogan of the PUNR and the Vatra Romaneasca movement is labor and discipline, and that is what he can promise will be done under his presidency.

Funar then pledges that he will respect the Constitution so that "all people should feel good in this country, irrespective of their mother tongues."

He rejects charges that he is a chauvinist or extremist, but readily acknowledges being a nationalist, saying that he loves Romania and its people. He says that the best evidence against such allegations is his record as mayor of Cluj, during which time no one could accuse him of having adopted a chauvinistic or extremist attitude.

Funar rejects such theories as the one that predicts that "a civil war will break out in Transylvania in case I am elected."

Funar then indirectly criticizes President Iliescu by saying that Romania needs a "strong man, not a weak one," who should be young and "not near retirement."

Romania needs a president who knows the Constitution well and acts in accordance with it, Funar says, not like Democratic Convention candidate Emil Constantinescu "who will probably have to answer tonight on television whether he has participated in the referendum concerning our Constitution."

Funar says that he does not think that Romanians want a president who favors monarchy.

Concerning "reunification," Funar promises "to make the dream of Romanians come true," achieving a "greater Romania" within the next four years.

Funar concludes his statement by saying that he is praying that "God may help the Romanians."

Democratic Convention [CD] candidate Emil Constantinescu begins by thanking all who backed him during his campaign.

People have to understand that Romania has now reached a crucial stage and its fate depends on the nature of the political forces that will be elected into the new Parliament, he says. Hopefully, he says, a new Romania will emerge, in which the rule of law, true values, and competence will be truly appreciated, regardless of partisan political views.

He reviews various economic problems, saying that they cause considerable social strain. Nevertheless, Constantinescu says, the CD has good solutions for each of these problems.

The role of the president is to represent the state and to act as an umpire in cases of political conflict, he says. If he is elected, he says, he will submit himself to the will of

the nation only, disregarding party interests. Constantinescu then expresses his *hope that a competent prime* minister and a similarly competent cabinet able to revive the economy will be sworn in soon so that all Romanians can live under decent circumstances.

Republican Party candidate Ioan Manzatu begins by saying that the entire country is grieving deeply and mentions such general negative phenomena as unemployment and fears that things might get even worse.

He accuses the current leadership of causing the disaster, stressing that he does not want to single out any individuals or parties. Nevertheless, Manzatu speaks of the "anti-reform" began by former Prime Minister Petre Roman and continued by acting Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan.

Manzatu then praises the press, particularly the national radio and television company, which he says was extremely impartial during the electoral campaign.

Manzatu concludes by saying that he has not been aggressive during the current election campaign, but that he could not help that "kindness is his nature."

Independent candidate Mircea Druc begins his statement by saying that he is fully confident in the will of the Romanian people to overcome hardships and to erect a perfect home to live in. They have not been able to do so before now because they lacked the appropriate leaders to guide them, Druc says.

If elected, he hopes that the new prime minister and his cabinet "implement ongoing reform without destroying anything" and that they should "always act as if Romania had already been reunited." Druc then cites several economic issues that he would focus on if elected.

Druc then discusses relations with the Republic of Moldova by saying that "one thing is clear: There are not two separate Romanian nations, and the presence of Romanians in the current elections is already a great victory in that respect." Romanians, in the same way as the Germans did, refuse to think in terms of two Romanian countries.

Druc cannot represent any party because he embodies an ideal, he says, the ideal of Romanian rebirth. Therefore, he is the only truly independent candidate in the current presidential race and will be the only impartial president if elected, he says.

Druc concludes by saying that the voters have Romania's destiny in their hands and that he prays that the right choice will be made.

Austerity Measures Yield 'First Positive Results'

AU2309115492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0913 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/9/1992—The first positive results at a macroeconomic level of the financial-banking measures of austerity endorsed in Romania in April-May 1992 have started to show up, told a news conference Daniel Daianu, chief economist of Romania's National Bank, on September 22.

Termed by Daianu as a "strategic move" in the government's economic policy, the endorsement of the package of measures mainly pursuing to curb inflation—the establishment of really positive interest rates, the devaluation of the leu—has led, for the first time after 1989, to a trade surplus. The trade balance of July was an excess of 22.2 million dollars and that of August—an excess of 13.5 million dollars.

One can see the inflation rate is declining, from about 10 percent at the beginning of 1992 to 3.4 percent in August. Inflation "strikes" may appear, as Daianu explained, following the subsidy cuts, but the tendency is still downwards.

The capital takings in the first half of 1992 are twice bigger than those of last year's similar period. The efforts of devaluation of the national currency, reflected, first of all, in the commercial balance of the country, should be superposed on big shortfalls in both the application and articulation of the economic policy. "The big shortfall of the period of transition was the failure to apply a real policy of supporting agriculture," the bank expert said, stressing that the settlement of this issue should be a priority to the new government.

Foreign Capital Not Needed for Daily Consumption

AU2309115192 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] The government held its weekly regular meeting today. Here are Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan's comments on the trade statistics for August.

[Begin recording] I examined the statistics for the month of August. They show that the systems we have inaugurated are working well toward solving the targets that we consider to be of primary importance at this stage. We are primarily talking about taking Romania out of its dependence on foreign financing for its daily consumption. This is a key target. I am going to repeat it, in all responsibility and with all the experience I have in this respect: Romania is not a country that needs to hold out its hand and ask for money to finance its day-to-day consumption requirements for industry and the population. This is the worst possible way to ask for money. When you ask for money in this way, those who give you the money are going to attach all sorts of conditions; after all, there are certain interests of the money lenders to be taken into account. Romania has stopped, so to

say, taking in money for its day-to-day consumption and did away with the reasons for that borrowing. Likewise, we have also achieved a slight trade balance surplus for the last two months that will not last in the coming months because we will fully start purchasing the necessary crude oil and energy for the winter period. Nevertheless—except for this case, which is accounted for—the system that has been set up is producing this positive phenomenon, namely Romania is standing on its own feet.

Second, our operating system has induced a reduction in inflation and a certain stabilization of the monthly inflation to 3-3.2 percent. This is still a pretty large, even very large inflation, compared to the countries with settled structures, but it is still a relatively optimistic one—it is pretty hard to find a term for it—for a country undergoing the kind of restructuring that Romania is undergoing, a country with our level of development and with the kind of imbalances it has had to cope with.

We are achieving these targets—that we considered as priorities for this year, that is ensuring economic stability—but at a cost. This means that unemployment is on the increase; that is, the number of unemployed, plus those who just came out of the state of unemployment, plus those who have never qualified for unemployment benefits but are in search of a job has almost reached the figure of 800,000. Obviously, this is a pretty hard situation to deal with, one that requires that we slightly change our policies as of 1 January, to the extent that we must change the control mechanism for salary payments, since, once unemployment exceeds the figure 1,000,000, it becomes a problem that will be very difficult to solve later.

There are solutions that need not apply pressure on the excess of manpower still prevalent in the majority of enterprises to the extent of eliminating it. These solutions should shift emphasis onto other spheres, since this is a phenomenon that had to happen and indeed it happened in all countries around us. Even so, unemployment is at its lowest in Romania, compared to the former socialist countries, except for certain areas that detached themselves from the former USSR, where the figures are rather unclear. As far as all the countries surrounding us are concerned, unemployment is the lowest in Romania. [end recording]

13.5 Million Trade Balance Surplus Registered

AU2309115092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0824 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/9/1992—For the second consecutive month Romania's foreign trade activities resulted in August in an active balance of trade, the surplus amounting to 13.5 million dollars. Vasile Dumitrescu, director general in the National Statistics Commission, told the mass media representatives who attended the September 22 news conference that imports were covered by exports, in convertible currency, in a proportion of 104.1 percent as to only 75.8 percent in the same month of last year.

In the first eight months of the ongoing year exports totalled 2.6 billion dollars, 24.1 percent bigger than the same period last year. Imports accounted for 3.2 billion dollars in August 1992, 2.2 percent higher than those recorded over the same period in 1991.

Union Bloc Signs Documents With CD Leaders

AU2309151792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1423 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/9/1992—The executive of the National Trade Union Bloc announced that a number of protocols had been recently signed with the chairman of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], Corneliu Coposu, and with the candidate for Romania's Presidency on the slate of the convention, Emil Constantinescu. The documents provide that in exchange for electoral support in the September 27 voting, the convention should observe a number of pledges. So, for instance, the Democratic Convention, through its parliamentarians, will promote and back in parliament the interests and the proposals of the National Trade Union blocs and through its members in the government will impose the application of convention 135/171 and of recommendation 143/1971 of the International Labor Organizations so as to secure respect for trade union rights and freedoms and the protection of trade union representatives.

At the same time, Emil Constantinescu reiterated his decision to accept that the presidential advisers on trade union affairs should be appointed and recalled by the Trade Union Confederations in Romania.

Serb Republics in Bosnia, Croatia Sign Agreement

LD2409123492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0934 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—The governments of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina] and the Republic of Serb Krajina [in Croatia] have signed a protocol on bilateral cooperation in the spheres of politics, economy, and public life, the Serb Republic Ministry of Information announced today.

It is stressed in the protocol, signed at a joint session of the two governments by Zdravko Zecevic, president of the Serb Krajina government [as received], and Dr Branko Djeric, president of the Serb Republic government [as received], that current international policy and the economic blockade have created an urgent need for the two republics to rely on each other. The departure point is the fact that the population of one and the same nation with same customs, religion, and language live on the territories of the two republics and that this population has never in its history before been separated by state borders.

The protocol, signed in Banja Luka, also envisages that the relevant government ministries should analyze all the existing constitutional and legislative provisions and draw up proposals, to be submitted to the republics' assembly, for ways to harmonize them. This refers, in particular, to introducing the same form of government, the same political system, identical assembly structures, multiparty electoral system, identical ownership forms, identical state symbols, etc.

Under the protocol, there will be no borders or border crossings between the two republics and customs duties will also be abolished. A monetary agreement between the two republics will regulate the spheres of financial, credit-montery and bank dealings and will provide main legal foundations for regulating these spheres as well as the spheres of fiscal and customs tariffs systems.

Competent ministries should draw up a detailed analysis of the existent industrial and other capacities; deadlines for their revival should be set and possibilities of obtaining raw materials and the marketing of final products be examined.

Priority should be given to the repair of the Benkovac-Bijeljina road, postal communications, telephone and telegraph systems, rail lines and the common system of electric energy transmission. The setting up of a joint public company for the oil and oil-derivatives supply is envisaged. There is a plan to establish a joint foreign economic relations strategy; the future economic development will be based on privatization.

The basis of spiritual links between the people in the two republics will be the cooperation in the domain of culture, education and science. The protocol says that a single system of education will be established. Health and social protection will be organized on the same principles so that the two republics will among other things have the same health documents.

The taking care of refugees, the wounded and the ill from the war-affected areas and the distribution of medicines received from humanitarian organizations will be joint.

With a view of the free flow of information a single information system will be established, while the initiated unification of radio and television broadcasting will be completed. SRPSKI GLAS [The Serb Voice] and JAVNOST [The Public] will be joint newspapers, the statement of the Ministry of Information of the Serb Republic says in conclusion.

Karadzic: EC Blames Serbs Without 'Understanding'

LD2409202292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1939 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 24 (TANJUG)—The European Community (E.C.) can hardly expect to succeed in its efforts to resolve the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina if its continues to blame only the Serbs for it and arbitrarily force solutions without clearly understanding the situation, said president of the Bosnian Serb Republic Radovan Karadzic in an interview to the Polish weekly SOLIDARNOSC.

Karadzic said that, if condemned out of hand, the Serbian people would rise in defense of their lives and territories.

He said the moment for dealing with ethnic issues had not been chosen by the Serbs, but had rather been forced on them by the break-up of Yugoslavia. He said that peace must eventually be restored in the Balkans, but only if all the Balkan nations, including the Serbs, were guaranteed the right to self-determination.

The Bosnian Serb leader expressed readiness to discuss all questions, including territorial disputes.

Vance, Owen To Investigate Clashes in Banja Luka

LD2409155992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1426 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 24 (TANJUG)—The co-chairmen of the Geneva-based Conference on Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, will travel to Banja Luka on Friday [25 September] to investigate reports on ethnic clashes in this Bosnian town, their spokesman Fred Eckhard said on Thursday in Geneva.

REUTER quotes Eckhard as saying that such concerning reports were received "from different sources."

Vance and Owen contacted the head of the delegation of the Serb Republic in Geneva and a senior diplomat of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (the agency did not name them) and demanded urgent steps to reduce the tensions in this region.

Vance contacted by telephone the president of the Serb Republic, Radovan Karadzic, who said he would also come to Banja Luka on Friday to "personally assess" the situation.

UN Soldiers Injured; Circumstances 'Suspicious'

LD2409214992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2110 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—A number of UNPROFOR soldiers, including Canadian Captain Anderson, were wounded today at 1540 in Sarajevo district of Azici when one UNPROFOR vehicle drove onto an anti-tank mine just five meters behind a Muslim roadblock, SRNA reports tonight. According to first reports, seven UNPROFOR soldiers were wounded while they were helping in the evacuation of bodies of Muslim soldiers killed in clashes that were taking place near Azici and Doglodi during the last few days.

Many facts suggest that once again this is a case of a well prepared attack of Muslim forces against the UNPROFOR members. This time, too, a Bosnia-Hercegovina Television crew was present at the spot even though the official request stressed that only one UNPROFOR personnel carrier and one truck will take part in this operation. It is also suspicious that leading persons of the Muslim armed forces, including Sefer Halilovic, commander of the main headquarters, were engaged and insisted on the operation for the evacuation of the bodies even though this not the usual practice, SRNA concludes.

UNPROFOR Considers Sarajevo Troop Pullout

AU2409182692 Paris AFP in English 1745 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 24 (AFP)—U.N. peacekeeping troops are considering pulling out of the Bosnian capital Sarajevo to less exposed sites, their commander told AFP on Thursday [24 September].

Redeployment of the majority of U.N. troops and their headquarters outside the besieged capital would take them out of the line of fire and make them less vulnerable to provocative attacks, General Philippe Morillon said.

"We are considering a new deployment. For psychological reasons we may leave a small party in the post office building (the force's current HQ)," Morillon said.

"If we leave Sarajevo it will be because we will have found a better site from all points of view, safety and political contacts," he added.

Morillon is to command the new U.N. force in Bosnia-Hercegovina due to be deployed in the next few weeks. He is currently second in command of the U.N. Protection Force in former Yugoslavia.

MBO Chief Supports Serb-Muslim Agreement

LD2409170192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1718 GMT 23 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zagreb, Sept. 23 (TANJUG)—The majority of Moslems regret that "irresponsible amateurs" recklessly rejected an agreement reached last summer between the Serbs and Bosnia-Hercegovina Moslems, said the president of the Moslem-Bosnian Organization (MBO) which rallies pro-Yugoslav oriented Moslems in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Adil Zulfikarpasic.

The rejection of the agreement paved the way for conflicts and everything that is now taking place in the war-torn Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Zulfikarpasic said in an interview to the Zagreb daily NOVI VJESNIK.

Talks regarding the historical agreement, the so-called Belgrade initiative, aimed to settle issues of dispute without a war, so that catastrophe, bloodshed and destruction would have been avoided, said Zulfikarpasic.

This was a vital issue for the Bosnia Moslems, and the agreement did not prejudge the state's organization, he said.

Civil and religious war between local Serbs on one side and local Moslems and Croats on the other over the future organization of the recently internationally recognized state, has been ravaging Bosnia-Hercegovina for months.

If Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic had been able to assess the situation, he would have never opposed the "Serb-Moslem agreement" which guaranteed 100 years of peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina, said Zulfikarpasic.

Zulfikarpasic was forced to leave Bosnia-Hercgovina after Izetbegovic's Party of Democratic Action (SDA) nearly accused him of treason because his party favored an agreement between the Serbs and Moslems.

He rejected cantonization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as there is no Serb, Croat or Moslem territory in it, he said.

Everyone lives together in the whole republic in such a way that it is impossible to mark out a purely ethnic region—whether Serb, Croat or Moslem, he maintains.

The Serbs (33 percent) and Croats (17 percent) are in favor of an ethnic cantonization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, while the Moslems (44 percent) urge a unitary state in which they would rule as the largest ethnic group.

Tudjman Comments on Agreement With Izetbegovic

LD2409125792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, held several talks in New York. Today journalists were particularly interested in yesterday's expanded agreement between the two presidents. On this subject, Tudjman stated:

[Begin recording] At the end we signed an addendum to the agreement on friendship and cooperation that we signed in Zagreb before. In this addendum to the agreement we spoke about a necessity to launch an international action to stop the war, then we agreed to set up a joint committee to coordinate defense activities until the end of aggression. We also said that if the war continued, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia would call for lifting the embargo, and in the last point, we spoke about respecting human rights and a need for setting up a war crimes tribunal. [end recording]

The president described as particularly impressive his meeting with emigrants, who promised help for the children of war victims as well as for the construction of diplomatic institutions in the United States.

Tudjman Addresses United Nations

LD2409112192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Address by President Franjo Tudjman to the United Nations in New York; in English with superimposed Serbo-Croat translation—live]

[Excerpts] Mr. President, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen: It has been exactly four months today since I had the honor to address you for the first time in our common home in the UN General Assembly as representatives of sovereign countries, members of the world community. Membership in the United Nations is the crown of the international confirmation of a sovereign statehood of every state.

For the Republic of Croatia, it meant the final realization of the just aspirations of the Croatian nation towards self-determination and freedom which that nation, albeit one of the oldest in Europe, managed to regain only after nine centuries of life in multinational state communities in which it nevertheless managed to preserve its national and state identity, but was not internationally sovereign.

The creation of an autonomous and independent state is the achievement of the indestructible moral strength of the Croatian nation based on firm national consciousness that burnt for centuries as an eternal flame in the hearts of the Croatian people. Nations have existed since time immemorial, but if they lack the moral strength and the consciousness of their individual and unrepeatable being, of their independence, they disappear from the stage of the world's history. [passage omitted]

By joining the United Nations, the Republic of Croatia has taken a solemn oath to observe the principles of the UN Charter and the system of values and obligations on which the world organization is based. On this occasion let me once again solemnly confirm our profound adherence to the principles on which the UN is based.

Mr. President, we are faced with the historical responsibility of the creation of a new international order, an order of equality and protection of rights of all states and nations, national minorities and individuals. This is at the same time a challenge to build a world without war, a world of healthy environment and progress for all the inhabitants of the earth. For the first time in the history of mankind, conditions have been created to achieve these noble aims. After the disintegration of colonial empires in World War II, and after the appearance of new state building, but so-called non-historical nations on the global scene, we have finally seen the end of the bloc division and the collapse of numerous despotic regimes throughout the world. It is obviously not by accident that the collapse of those regimes was followed by or coincided with the disintegration of certain multinational states in which nations were held together by the repression of the totalitarian regimes or the domination of one nation.

In its historical development, human society has entered into a period of ultimate civilizational integration, but at the same time of national individualization. In other words, the world has become immensely interdependent in terms of development, technology, transport, environment, culture and information, but with increasingly numerous independent international entities.

The reconciliation of this contradiction imposes the need, indeed the necessity of seeking the intervention and even the firm action of the entire international community in the resolution of the remaining and newly created local and regional crises. Over the past two-year period, during which Croatia gained its sovereignty, the United Nations has reaffirmed its basic principles and tenets, that is, peaceful and democratic foundations of the international relations. This organization is opposing resolutely and effectively attempts to resolve international conflicts by force and to violate the right of nations to self-determination and territorial integrity of sovereign members of the international community by aggressive wars and by causing a regional crisis. A determined military action undertaken in the Gulf war, then peace operations in Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Cambodia, effectively prove that the United Nations, and hence the international community as a whole, are increasingly more equipped to oppose aggression actively and to work on the preservation of peace.

Experience that the United Nations gained through operations aimed at creating peace, sustaining peace and containing aggression, show that the consensus-based

process of international decisionmaking aimed at starting peace operations, is still slow and insufficiently efficient.

The Republic of Croatia welcomes and fully supports the hitherto UN activities aimed at extinguishing flash points of crisis worldwide. Aware that a passive attitude and a compromise with bearers of aggression and fresh exacerbations in international relations, would be much more costly and with far greater loss and sufferings. Nevertheless, Croatia believes that, in the forthcoming period, the United Nations, precisely in order to minimize human sufferings and reduce the risk of the spread of aggression, would expand its international peacekeeping activities also to appropriate preventive diplomacy, to the creation and development of peace and a gradual build-up of trust.

Moreover, the Republic of Croatia sees the need to channel the involvement of the international community and also programs of the United Nations into three main lines of activities in the forthcoming period:

First, the global economy should pull itself out of the evermore present recession, and the rapid development cycle should be promoted, involving a high degree of coordination and economic cooperation between the developed North and developing countries. Namely, our generation and the modern world would be very responsible if they allowed that recently overcome opposition between the East and the West to be replaced with the erection of obstacles and the lack of trust between the industrially developed West and the North on one side and the Third World on the other.

Second, an equally important task of the United Nations concerns the resolute and firm promotion of democratic freedom and human rights throughout the world. This is a necessity because economic and global development can no longer be imagined, even less realized, only on the basis of economic categories and criteria, but only with the constant affirmation of human rights and a democratic system that encompasses both political freedom and social rights.

In this respect Croatia welcomes a decision to convene the world conference on human rights in September next year. Croatia will actively contribute to the preparation of this important, I would say, historical meeting, first of all by investing resolute efforts to strengthen democratic institutions in our own country which has only recently got rid of totalitarian regimes and communist domination.

Moreover, within the scope of the CSCE, Croatia has offered to host the CSCE seminar on minority problems that we hope will be held on the historical island of Brioni next May.

[passage omitted] Third, the last but not least important activity of the international community and the United Nations in the forthcoming period should also be concern in removing all flashpoints of crisis in the world, apart from effective prevention of aggression as a means of resolving international conflicts, that is, concern in removing all flashpoints of crisis in the world so that a lasting and just peace is created. This complex task will involve painstaking negotiations and harmonization of objectively different stands and interests and limited resources of the international community. However, the stakes and expected results for the entire international community are so great and historically far-reaching that they deserve every possible effort and use of all sources so that the highest goal of humankind is reached: a lasting peace and general welfare within a stable international order.

The role of the United Nations has been and continues to be particularly irreplacable in safeguarding the right of nations to self-determination and the civic and human rights of ethnic communities and minorities. The United Nations can and must play an important role in controling changes in societies freeing themselves from totalitarianism on their way to democratic political and economic transformation. [passage omitted]

We support a strengthened role of the UN General Assembly as a global advisory parliament and of the UN Security Council [UNSC] as a body most responsible for international peace and security. This implies a greater responsibility of the UNSC members, especially the permanent ones. We therefore support the initiative for the expansion of the UNSC with new permanent members because this would reflect new realities in the world and would enable better regional representation. [passage omitted]

Let me take this opportunity to stress in particular that Croatia fully agrees with the report by the secretary general about regional conflicts as a threat to world peace and progress that he submitted to the General Assembly on 9 September. Regional conflicts now are not what they were during the cold war, when warring sides were representing conflicting ideologies. Regional conflicts today are expressions of pure imperialist or conquest policies. They cause not just horrendous tragedies because they liquidate mainly civilian population, destroy industries and displace people from their homes, but they constitute a serious danger for peace in wider regions and even the world.

Although one of the basic principles of the UN Charter is the principle of nonintereference in internal affairs of sovereign states, many current conflicts, occurring within borders of one state, show that they must become a UN concern when they violate universal human principles and threaten international peace. As the secretary general has stated with a profound feeling of moral responsibility, it is the duty of the United Nations to support dignity of human beings and ensure the safety of their lives regardless of the type of conflict, be it general, regional or within the borders of one state.

When chaos within one state threatens the civilized and democratic legal order with collapse, when tyrany oversteps limits of moral standards that men regard as common to everyone, and when the danger of a regional conflict would endanger the basis of international order, peace and security in the world, then the United Nations must be able to take action.

Later, if the existence of only one UN member is threatened, the existence of the entire international community is placed in jeopardy. The examples of Cambodia, Somalia, and, unfortunately, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina suffice to confirm the correctness of this view.

Mr. President, let me remind you of the contribution that the Croatian people's struggle for freedom made to the affirmation of the rights of small nations, to the collapse of totalitarian regimes, and to the new democratic atmosphere in international relations in central and southeastern Europe. The awakening of national awareness in east and central Europe has made the largest contribution to dissolution of the totalitarian communist system. Their struggle against communist socialism, particularly in multinational states, was the struggle for national emancipation and human rights. Initially, and in some cases even today, it was mistakenly understood as retrograde nationalism, autarchic separatism, or simply put down as ethnic conflicts or struggles for power.

The processes of regional and entire integration on one hand and the disintegration of multinational states on the other are only seemingly at odds. The newly created states on the territory of former Yugoslavia or the former Soviet Union do not aspire towards autarchy. It is precisely these countries that require purposeful integration and openness to cooperation with all. Within the new post-communist democratic atmosphere, however, small nations want to preserve their own identity and the right to their own state in order to be a subject and not an object within the scope of epoch-making changes taking place in modern world.

At the very beginning of the national and political emancipation of the Croatian people we were aware of the complexity and possible risks that the collapse of a past regime can cause in multinational countries. Therefore, we patiently tried to resolve the crisis of the former Yugoslav federation through political negotiations and a proposal on a confederal agreement in order to avoid war. From the very beginning, we supported the internationalisation of the crisis, and with this approach, we succeeded in turning the opinion of the international democratic public to our benefit.

Today, when we have achieved a military and moral victory in a war that was imposed on us, we are still prepared for political solutions to all internal and international problems in order to create permanent prerequisites for internal and regional stability and cooperation among the newly created states.

The recent just struggle of the Croatian and other nations for sovereignty has contributed to the development of a different attitude towards the rights of small nations to independence and their own state. This unequal struggle has in effect contributed to the superiority of the democratically expressed right to self-determination of nations over the principle of integrity of existing multinational states, and in this connection, it has also brought new changes in international law and international relations.

The position of small and less-developed nations and states in the international order is the key to regional and international stability and cooperation and to just international relations. Without the confirmation of their right to an individual state, the United Nations would have only 50 instead of 179 member-states today. Our recent experiences confirm that without the stable peace and sovereignty of small nations, there is no stable peace nor strong international order in the world following the end of the cold war.

These are the reasons why we believe that the international community is entitled to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries in cases involving the control of aggression, humanitarian intervention, protection of the rights of individuals and national minorities, and preservation of the environment in accordance with the principles and mechanisms endorsed by the international community.

Accordingly, we would welcome such a new role for the United Nations, as well as for regional organizations such as the CSCE, which would guarantee the security of all member-states through peaceful involvement and even the imposition of peace. Without such a UN role, it is not possible to resolve a crisis such as the one we face in the former Yugoslavia. The chief responsibility for international security rests with the UNSC, but regional organizations should bear the main burden of implementing such a policy based on UN principles. Therefore, we support the creation of permanent and regional armed formations capable of swift peace operations aimed at the prevention of conflicts or aggression.

Furthermore, Croatia firmly supports the UN secretary general's peace agenda and the process of etsablishing a permanent UN military force. In the post-cold war world, when regional conflicts pose the main threat to world security, international preservation and the creation of peace and powers that could do this are in fact a dividing line between chaos and stability. Croatia is prepared to take part in such forces and to help bring peace to unstable parts of the world.

If these mechanisms had existed, perhaps the catastrophe brought about by the Yugo-communist and Serb-Montenegrin aggression in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina could have been prevented. Precisely, this crisis confirmed the equal right of all nations—especially, small and young nations—to security, and it showed the necessity to create such mechanisms. With

this view, we would support a system of regional security in our area that would also serve as a model for other crisis areas in the world.

Precisely the area of the Balkans and southeast Europe, due to its geopolitcal importance, ethnic mix, and difficult historical experiences, requires the creation of a model of international and regional security that would be in accordance with a general system of common security aimed at stability of the world order.

This implies the consideration of comprehensive measures aimed at strengthening trust and mutual guarantees, at creating and preserving the balance of power, and at creating safe zones and protected areas together with adjustment and supervision of defense and war forces and doctrines.

To achieve the stability in this part of Europe in which incomplete processes both of the stabilization in the eastern Mediterranean and southeastern Europe and the establishment of stable relations among the newly created states are reflected, Croatia is prepared to take the initiative in convening an international conference of the countries in the area in order to consider a future model for regional security and cooperation based on common interests and principles of the UN Charter and the CSCE documents.

The Republic of Croatia endorses the coordinated process of regional and general disarmament and welcomes the results achieved so far in limiting the armament of super powers. Croatia is ready to cooperate with other states in reallocating funds spent on armament for reconstruction of war-affected areas and for peacetime development. This regards particularly the new states that require international cooperation in the implementation of their democratic and economic reforms to achieve their internal stability. The role as well as the responsibility of the international community are to be seen in the fact that these societies do not have enough strength for rapidly becoming a part of the integrational processes. Due to this the fast integration of new states in international financial and other institutions should be promoted.

We endorse automatic international intervention and other punitive measures in case of serious violation of territorial integrity of other countries. The United Nations must also envisage a way for preventing the use of military force against the peaceful expression of political will in the solution of internal political questions. The brutal use of military force against one's own people in the present time should not be regarded as a merely internal political question.

We endorse the establishment of a permanent international court for the punishment of war crimes and all actions involving the deliberate violation of peace and international conventions and threatening lives of the civilian population.

In supporting open economy and market principles we propose that the international development strategy find out the ways of enabling the transfer of technology, knowledge and necessary resources for the less-developed countries or countries destroyed by the war. In this process in our mind an important role lies precisely with the United Nations and its agencies.

The UN nations and its agencies ought to be in the immediate lead regarding the return of refugees and the reconstruction of their homes, destroyed cultural monuments, industrial plants and infrastructure facilities. This a process that is particularly important for our country.

The earliest solution of all issues regarding the succession of states, in accordance with international law, is of the highest importance for Croatia and other states that have emerged in the area of the former Yugoslavia and of the former Soviet Union. In supporting solutions of these issues especially for economic reasons, we are ready to invest an additional effort to codify the experience and norms of international law in this sphere.

On this occasion I cannot help adding a few words about the inadequate actions of international factors in resolution of the crisis in former Yugoslavia—more precisely, in prevention of the brutal aggression waged by Serbia and Montenegro against Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Croatia appreciates the efforts of the international community from the United Nations, the EC, and the CSCE in all those factors that have helped us in stopping the mindless and most brutal war waged against the civilian population before the eyes of the civilized world. We express our deepest sympathy for the human losses that the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] suffered in the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the performance of its noble task.

But, what is really happening there, Mr. President, is the sustained aggression of Serbia and Montenegro, now acting under the new name of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, against two sovereign and independent states, members of the United Nations, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Unless stopped, this aggression could develop into conflicts of much greater scale, through which the war catastrophe could spread to the whole of Europe and, possibly, to the rest of the world. Unfortunately, in this situation the world community has not found a sufficiently efficient mechanism to stop aggression nor an effective way to stop brutal war destruction such as Europe has hardly ever experienced and associated with the most barbaric form of ethnic cleansing.

Implementation of the Vance plan—created through the authority of the United Nations—is considerably behind schedule due to constant undermining by the Serbian and Montenegrin sides. The UNPROFOR mission must be seriously accelerated and fully implemented within the mandate of the peacekeeping forces. Otherwise, it

could become completely meaningless and produce justified indignation and disappointment among the Croatian people, who continue to suffer the consequences of the aggression.

Croatian authorities find it increasingly difficult to control the justified indignation of people displaced from their own homes in their own homeland, people who have accepted the role and the intention of the international community and the EC with optimism and with the firm conviction that the wrongs that they have suffered would be reversed. These people find it difficult to understand why the international community cannot—in this particular case—show the necessary determination shown in the case of the same kind of aggression against another independent state.

The United Nations must find the will and the power to use all resources at their disposal to bring the war in Croatia to a halt and to stop the aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina. In the opposite case, if the aggressor is not punished and continues implementing its plan of conquest, the reputation of the United Nations would be seriously undermined.

In conclusion, Mr. President, let me express my conviction that the United Nations will fulfill its historical task. For its part, the Republic of Croatia is prepared to contribute its share in every respect as a full member of the world community. Having had multiparty parliamentary elections for the second time in the past two years, despite the war, Croatia has severed all links with its political past and strengthened its democratic order and international position.

Having committed itself in its Constitution in political and economic terms and in all spheres of spiritual and material development to accept the principles of democracy and pluralism on which the United Nations is based, Croatia is open to cooperation with all her neighbors and other countries in Europe and the world. Croatia wants to be a factor for peace and stability of the international order in her part of the world.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Federal

Panic Discusses U.S. Trip, Carter To Visit

LD2409110192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0014 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Washington, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter will travel to Yugoslavia to monitor forthcoming elections, Milan Panic, president [as received] of the Federal Government, said in Washington this evening.

Speaking to a group of Yugoslav journalists about the outcome of his current visit to the United States, Panic said he had personally met Carter on 23 September and that the latter had promised to travel to Yugoslavia to ensure that the elections were democratic and regular.

According to Panic, all those he met today offered to support his peace plan and the democratization of relations in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. For his part, he invited all the collocutors to set up observer groups to monitor the elections in Yugoslavia.

Asked to assess the results of his current visit to New York where he had applied for Yugoslavia to be readmitted to the world community after being suspended from the General Assembly on the evening of 22 September, the federal premier said that "we have achieved more than we expected." Here he mentioned his meeting with the foreign ministers of five permanent UN Security Council members and went on to emphasize that for the first time the American side—he mentioned [Acting Secretary of State Lawrence] Eagleburger—clearly and openly had come in support of his peace plan. He also said that he had asked the five UN Security Council member-countries to postpone by 90 days the decision to exclude Yugoslavia but failed to gain their support for this. But, he went on, it was suggested to us to submit a request which would then be considered within the next 90 days. The federal premier described his meeting with the five foreign ministers as "a fantastic turnabout."

In his replies, Milan Panic also said that "he would never give up an inch of Yugoslavia," that in Kosovo "things will have to be done," and that "Kosovo will not be allowed to secede." "I will never surrender Kosovo," Panic said and went on to add that "those who have been accusing me of wanting to give up Kosovo have, in fact, given everything away, have caused human losses without saving or changing anything."

In this context, Premier Panic said that "the way the world is talking about Milosevic is both inexplicable and intolerable" and that "never before has the world talked about or judged a man in this way." He went on to say that like others he "does not agree with Milosevic in every aspect," but that in judging Milosevic's personality "the world has been exaggerating in an unwarranted and unfounded manner."

In the course of a two-hour-long conversation with Yugoslav journalists Milan Panic spoke favorably about [Bosnian Serb leader] Radovan Karadzic, stressing that in his view Karadzic "is genuinely committed to peace" which he had demonstrated when agreeing to place his heavy weapons under UN control. Panic said that Karadzic "is also serious about his commitment to peaceful negotiations." "I personally congratualted him on this," Panic said.

In conclusion, Panic stressed that the main objective of his government was to lift the sanctions rather than "to antagonize the world which has imposed the sanctions." Panic added that the Yugoslav problem was being dealt with by the outside world but that its main causes were to be found in, as he put it "our internal relations."

Prime Minister: 'We Are Against Ethnic Cleansing'

AU2509073992 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2000 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Interview with Prime Minister Milan Panic by Robert Hochner in Washington; date not given—recorded. Panic's statements in English with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Hochner] Good evening, Mr. Prime Minister. Since you came to office, you have repeatedly stated that you would bring peace to the country. However, according to some, the war has even deteriorated since then. Will people ever be able to believe that Milan Panic can bring peace?

[Panic] I have now been in office as Yugoslav prime minister for 70 days, and it is true that in the past 70 days the war in Bosnia has continued. However, Sarajevo Airport is now open, and it was not 70 days ago. The road from Split to Sarajevo is also open, and so is the road from Zagreb to Sarajevo. The fighting for Gorazde is over. The road from Belgrade to Sarajevo is open. Belgrade Airport has been made available for humanitarian aid purposes. The last time I visited Sarajevo, the commander of the UN Forces told us that a record amount of relief goods arrived there. In my opinion, things in Bosnia are still terrible. Nevertheless, the Red Cross has told me that the situation has improved slightly.

[Hochner] For the people in Europe, the word peace means ending ethnic cleansing by Serbian troops and militia in Bosnia, the end of the shelling of cities, and the end of air raids against civilians and their homes. When and how do you think will such peace be achieved in Bosnia?

[Panic] You must know that I am the prime minister of Yugoslavia and not of Bosnia. This is a different recognized country. I am doing everything possible to help solve all the problems in Bosnia. As far as ethnic cleansing is concerned, I would like to say the following: I am against it, I am against ethnic cleansing to an extent that we even put people in prison, including mayors. We are against ethnic cleansing. This is why I fired the state secretary in the Interior Ministry. Our government does

not support ethnic cleansing. It is continuously stating that it rejects such measures. In Yugoslavia, where I am responsible, ethnic cleansing was stopped.

[Hochner] Mr. Prime Minister, you are saying that you are responsible for politics in Yugoslavia, while most observers claim that President Milosevic is the strongman who has all the connections to the Army, and who has the power to end war in Bosnia. Do you think there will come a time when you and President Milosevic will have to decide who remains in office?

[Panic] I think that the relationship between Mr. Milosevic and myself is clear. He is a governor of a state of California-type, while I am state president. The Federal Government is in charge of internal and foreign relations and military issues. He is responsible for the state. As long as he sticks to governing the state and does not interfere in the peace process in Bosnia, there will not be any problems. Problems will only arise if he does not give his agreement at the London peace conference, and then you will know who is in charge.

[Hochner] In New York, you participated in a UN conference in which Yugoslavia lost its UN seat. The severest sanctions that have been imposed against a European country since World War II are in force against your country. How long can Serbia, or what is left of Yugoslavia, resist international pressure?

[Panic] First, we call it the new Yugoslavia. The old Yugoslavia has ceased to exist. When I took over, I said that the Tito-Yugoslavia has ceased to exist, that we now have a new Yugoslavia. I cannot support the conclusion that you just drew. It means that Yugoslavia will not take part in the debates of the UN General Assembly. Yugoslavia has not been expelled. Besides, it was said that we could apply for new membership, which we will do in 90 days. Actually, I have already done so. Yugoslavia was one of the founding countries of the United Nations. It is only a question of time. As soon as the 12 points of the London peace conference are fulfilled, Yugoslavia will become a proud participant in international relations. We must make peace in Yugoslavia, and I am for peace. I call on all Austrians to pray for me and for peace. Only then will we be able to solve the problem.

[Hochner] Apart from praying, let me ask you another question. Many experts say that Kosovo might become the next crisis spot. As prime minister of the new—or, shall we say, what is left of Yugoslavia—can you guarantee that there will not be any military action against Kosovo, no expulsions, and no ethnic cleansing against the Albanian majority.

[Hochner] I have stated that our government rejects ethnic cleansing. We are against ethnic cleansing not only in Yugoslavia, but basically everywhere in the world. In our opinion, it is wrong for fundamental philosophical reasons. Such actions should not be supported anywhere. This is why I am against ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, as well. I think that all those who travel through Kosovo will understand the problem. If we deal with this problem slightly differently to how we dealt with the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, there will not be any problems in Kosovo. After all, our government will do everything to include the people in Kosovo in the political life of Yugoslavia. I am a man of peace; I met Mr. Rugova, the leader of Kosovo, and I think that there is a fair chance for peace. The most important thing in a crisis area is that somebody begins to talk of peace. I am the one who is speaking of peace, and more and more people support me.

[Hochner] Thank you very much for the interview.

Reactions to FRY Expulsion From UN Examined

LD2409163192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2242 GMT 23 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, September 23 (TANJUG)—The decision on barring the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) from the work of the United Nations General Assembly, adopted on Tuesday [22 September] night, did not cause major surprise in the Yugoslav public because it was expected, but it was followed by various reactions.

Wednesday's reactions by political parties, politicians and common people ranged from support to Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic and remarks about a bad policy of the Serbian regime to stands that the U.N. principles have been violated and that countries which had contributed to Yugoslavia's break-up also insisted on the resolution.

President of the Serbian Parliament Aleksandar Bakocevic, a deputy from the ranks of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), said that the decision was a precedent in the practice of the U.N. and that it showed that its authority was being used for imposing solutions, which is contrary to the U.N. Charter.

The decision will not contribute to a speedy settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, said Vice-President of the Serbian Parliament Vukasin Jokanovic (SPS), adding that Yugoslav Prime Minister Panic had made its adoption easier by announcing that the F.R.Y. would request to be admitted to the U.N.

General secretary of the ruling party in the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro, the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS), Svetozar Marovic said that the decision showed the U.N.'s wish to support Panic's peaceful policy, which also explains why Yugoslavia was not expelled from the U.N.

Opposition parties in Montenegro, the People's Party and the Liberal Alliance, assessed that the resolution showed a need for changes in Yugoslavia's internal and foreign policy, in keeping with demands voiced by the international community.

Milenko Radic, a leader of the opposition Democratic Movement Depos, which rallies a number of opposition parties and some prominent figures in Serbia, pointed

out that the ruling party, the SPS, had to understand that it was the main cause of the entire crisis.

The empty seat for Yugoslavia in the U.N. marks a victory of the Yugoslav prime minister and leaves a possibility for the country to be soon taken back into the fold of the organization, said Dragoljub Micunovic, leader of the opposition Democratic Party (DS).

The decision shows a total defeat of the policy pursued in Serbia over the past few years, said the opposition Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS). In its view, "the target of international pressures is not the Serbian people but the regime of President Slobodan Milosevic."

Other opposition parties in Serbia, the People's Peasant Party and the new democracy—Movement for Serbia, voiced similar views.

Serbian Crown Prince Aleksandar Karadjordjevic said that the attempt to ignore the fact of the perpetuation of Serbia and Montenegro was contrary to international law and basic political wisdom.

A brief opinion poll conducted by TANJUG on the streets of Belgrade showed that most residents of the Yugoslav capital support the Yugoslav prime minister and think that Yugoslavia should apply for membership in the U.N.

Unjustified pressures on the F.R.Y. continue, said leader of Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadzic, adding that so many precedents had been made in international organizations in case of the F.R.Y. and Serbia that it indicated a "twilight of the U.N. and the international community."

Paper Reports Discovery of Suspected 'Mercenaries'

LD2409223592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1457 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 23 (TANJUG)—A Yugoslav customs official on September 16 uncovered 32 Kurds hidden in a Turkish trailer truck, Belgrade daily POLITIKA said on Wednesday [23 September].

The Kurds "were probably heading for training camps in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia from where they would join the extremist-Moslems in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina," POLITIKA said.

The truck driver, Celebit Dirsin, a Turk, and his Kurdish stowaways are in prison in Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia's Vojvodina Province, the paper said.

After entering the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from Bulgaria, the truck was scheduled to travel north, towards Kelebija, a Yugoslav border crossing with Hungary but, instead, it turned up at a crossing point on the border between Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serb Krajina and this raised the suspicions of the customs official, the paper said.

The border crossing in question is on the Belgrade-Zagreb highway, once the busiest road in former Yugoslavia [words indistinct].

The Republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed by the local Serbs in areas where they are the majority population [words indistinct] against the secession of Croatia from Yugoslavia and the attempt of its authorities to transform the status of the Serbs into a national minority.

The truck was sealed by the Turkish and Bulgarian customs authorities and, according to official papers, its cargo comprised 20 tonnes of pistachio nuts for the German market, POLITIKA said.

Belgrade newspaper VECERNJE NOVOSTI on Wednesday quotes reliable sources as saying that "on September 19, twenty [words indistinct].

The mercenaries "had undergone combat and terrorist training on a NATO training range close to Munchen," the paper said.

According to VECERNJE NOVOSTI, this is "the first group of Islamic mercenaries who were trained on NATO's Munchen range with the aim of fighting against the Army of the Serb Republic."

"The buses are heading towards Bosnia, via Austria and the ex-Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Croatia," the paper said.

The Western media a number of times reported that some 700 Arab Mojaheddin are fighting alongside the Bosnia Moslems, while [words indistinct] quoted as many as 1,300 fundamentalist fighters from Islamic countries.

Serbia

Assembly Deputies Endorse Early Election Decision

LD2409164292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1544 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—Deputies to the Serbian Assembly today endorsed by a two-thirds majority the decision to proceed with a change of the republican Constitution providing for the holding of early elections for assembly deputies and the republican president which should be held by the end of this year. The change to the republican Constitution which creates constitutional and legal bases for holding early elections was voted for by 172 deputies; 11 deputies were against and there were 19 abstentions. The final decision on the change of the Constitution, and thus on early elections, will be made in a referendum by the citizens of Serbia.

Metal-Working Industry 'Hardest Hit' by Sanctions

LD2409231992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2027 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 23 (TANJUG)—The metal-working industry, which is technologically the most highly developed

industrial branch in the Republic of Serbia, has been hardest hit by international economic sanctions, Serbian Chamber of the Economy official Milovan Mitic told TANJUG on Wednesday [23 September].

Mitic is secretary of the chamber's department for the metal-working and electrical engineering industries.

The United Nations Security Council on May 30 clamped an economic and political blockade on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) and its constituent republics Serbia and Montenegro.

The consequences of this measure have been most strongly felt in the manufacture of vehicles, which dropped by 44.7 percent in the January-to-July period of this year as against the same period last year.

The Serbian Chamber of the Economy's figures show sharp drops in production also in the mechanical engineering industry (by 31.3 percent), non-ferrous metallurgy (30.7 percent) and the metal- working industry (33.3 percent).

This has resulted in laying off nearly half a million workers with token pay, said Mitic.

The Zastava Automobili car manufacturer of Kragujevac has reduced its output to a bare 300 units a month, as against more than 20,000 units before the sanctions.

The Fap truck manufacturer of Priboj has been at a virtual standstill since June, as it no longer receives the engines from the Sarajevo Famos. The international blockade has forced Belgrade's Ikarus bus manufacturer to discontinue production as well.

The troubles plaguing the three industrial giants, which among them employ 80,000 workers, have affected also a large number of companies which have cooperated with them, said Mitic.

The first priority now is for the state to financially help maintain a minimum of production, in order to make it possible to pick up when the blockade is lifted, said Mitic.

It is of the utmost importance that the sanctions should be lifted and the F.R.Y. re-incorporated in the process of globalization of production of transportation vehicles in Europe, said Mitic.

Positive results of that process have been recorded in Serbia with Zautava establishing cooperation with the Italian Fiat and Fap with the German Mercedes.

Kosovo

Rugova Receives U.S. Officials, Norwegian Group

AU2409151792 Tirana ATA in English 1018 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Tirana, September 24 (ATA)—The president of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, received on September 23 in Pristina the representatives of the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade, Jim Sviguard and Jeniger Brush [names as received]. On this occasion they talked on the present situation in Kosovo and the ways to solve the Kosovo problem, laying special emphasis on the possibilities offered by Geneva conference.

Representatives of the U.S. embassy talked also with the representatives of the Albanian political parties of Kosovo, of the Albanian education, and Pristina-based Council to Defend Human Rights and Freedoms.

Ibrahim Rugova received on September 23 the Norwegian delegation composed of officials of the Ministry of Justice and of the Norwegian Embassy in Belgrade. The Norwegian delegation got acquainted with the situation in Kosovo and the efforts made to solve the question of Kosovo and of the Albanians in former Yugoslavia.

Vojvodina

Human Rights Minister Denies Ethnic Cleansing

LD2409172592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1746 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 23 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Human Rights Minister Momcilo Grubac said on Wednesday [23 September] there was no ethnic cleansing in Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina which has a mixed population.

Grubac participated in the work of a Human Rights Commission set up by the Federal parliament. The commission condemned violations of individual and property rights of Croats, ethnic Hungarians and other minorities in Vojvodina over the past few months.

Such incidents cannot be described as ethnic cleansing because they were not part of a deliberate policy aimed at expelling one or several ethnic groups from Vojvodina with the tacit approval of the authorities, said Grubac.

The commission sought from the Federal Parliament to urgently file a report on the situation concerning civil rights and liberties in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (which is now made up of Serbia and Montenegro—two of the former six Yugoslav Republics). It also insisted that the competent bodies energetically prevent human rights violations on an ethnic basis and thoroughly investigate all reports of such violations.

Ostoja Sibincic and Rade Cakmak, a Serb from Croatia, were arrested on August 21 in connection with the resettlement of Croats from the Vojvodina village of Hrtkovci. The two are charged with the criminal offence of violating the rights and freedoms of citizens on an ethnic basis.

Montenegro

Socialists Comment on Federal Elections

92BA1415E Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Sep 92 p 2

[Article by V. Rakcevic: "Respecting the Will of the Citizens"]

[Text] Podgorica, 9 Sep—Today in Podgorica the Secretariat of the Main Committee of the DPS [Democratic Party of Socialists] of Montenegro organized a press conference concerning information about participation of the delegation of the DPS of Montenegro in the federal roundtable concerning the necessary legal and political prerequisites for scheduling and holding early elections in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY].

As presented by Predrag Bulatovic, the roundtable has suspended its work for the moment because of the opposed positions of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] and the Serbian opposition over the model of the election system. In any case, views are now being reconciled within a working group.

In the proceedings up to this point, the DPS of Montenegro has been in favor of reaching a compromise between the opposed positions. In this connection, the DPS representative has emphasized that in the search for a compromise this party will not act on behalf of narrow party interests, but will be guided primarily by the interests of the citizens of Montenegro and the FRY. So, the DPS favors reconciliation of views within the proportional system, and it is committed to Montenegro being a single electoral unit in the federal election. The Serbian opposition believes that Serbia should also be a single electoral unit, while the SPS is offering compromises whereby Serbia would be made up of several electoral units. Predrag Bulatovic had this to say in that connection:

A Step Based on Goodwill

"We feel that the Serbian opposition must take a step of goodwill toward the proposal of the SPS, while the SPS must give up the elimination of quota used in 1922 in the Kingdom of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs and accept a limit of 3 to 5 percent of the vote to establish the mandate.

"The DPS favors the proportional system because it has been applied in Montenegro since the first election and over that time it has seemed to be the fairest solution," Bulatovic said.

In connection with the early elections, Predrag Bulatovic said: "We accepted early elections as a necessity because of the situation in the FRY, but also because of the initiative taken by the federal government and the president of the FRY. We reject in this connection the assertion of certain opposition parties that the May elections in Montenegro were undemocratic. They were very meaningful in the official establishment of the bodies of the FRY, that is, in completing the process of setting up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

Bulatovic emphasized the position of the DPS that elections should be held at all levels by the end of the year, from the federal to the opstina, including the republic. He also said that the DPS will not accept possible initiatives to amend the FRY Constitution concerning those provisions that define the number of deputies in the Citizens Chamber, because there have been similar proposals from some of the opposition parties and certain representatives of the federal government.

In answer to a newsman's question of the position of the DPS deputy caucus concerning the outright insult which Vojislav Seselj addressed in the federal Assembly to the Montenegrin delegate Ljubica Dzakovic, Svetozar Marovic answered: "The DPS has already responded and publicly condemned the action of Deputy Seselj, stressing in that connection that the DPS will strive, as it has up to now, for the federal parliament to be a place for intelligent, civilized, and democratic gathering where the Montenegrin representatives will represent Montenegro in a dignified fashion without fear of future exposure to similar aggressive and primitive outbursts by certain political 'acrobats.' Otherwise," Marovic said, "the DPS would be forced not to take part in a parliament which was unable to guarantee a democratic and civilized attitude toward each individual."

Conversation With the SPS

A journalist from OSLOBODJENJE in Sarajevo asked what price the DPS is supposed to pay in order to maintain the coalition with the SPS? Svetozar Marovic replied: "The DPS represents a majority of the citizens of Montenegro in the federal parliament and there is no coalition that can oblige us to act against the interests of those citizens and the dignity of the Republic of Montenegro. Relations with the SPS must be based on mutual respect and political ethics. To be sure, those relations have still not been smoothed out. On that plane, we will defend our views with reason, dignity, and vigor. Should we not succeed in that, that would force us to engage in different and very serious reflections. However, we will sit down with representatives of the SPS and critically examine past experience, and I hope that this relationship will take on a new aspect," Svetozar Marovic concluded.